# NEW TIMES

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A RUSSIAN WEEKLY

# NEW TIMES

No. 14, 1992
Founded 1945

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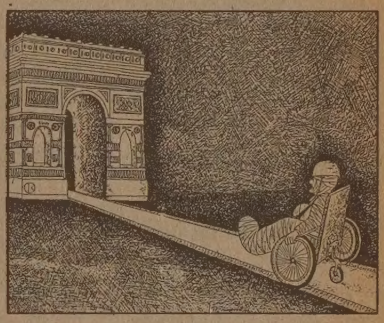
*Cover by Victor Brel*



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# From our mailbag

■ I read with bitterness an interview with Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi entitled "The President says hello to me" (No. 1/92). I feel bitter because we ordinary people voted precisely for the Yeltsin-Rutskoi ticket. I took a liking to Rutskoi when he was Chairman of the Commission for the Affairs of Disabled People. We defenceless people have no one to whom we could apply. Therefore we set all our hopes on Alexander Rutskoi in the belief that he will not allow anyone to do wrong to us, unfortunate people.

I think Boris Yeltsin loves his people and hence feels pity for them. That is why I sincerely hope that Yeltsin will overcome the pain and resentment (he is a very emotional man, of course) and will remember us, people who each morning wake up with the thought of how to cope with arising difficulties. Everyday existance has become so expensive for us. People hope very much that Rutskoi will have all his powers back.

**Tamara Grekhova**
Tomsk, Russia

■ I don't think our life will improve soon, as the President says. For people like Zhirinovsky the worse it is the more they like it. Therefore they will try to hinder stabilization. I am concerned about the future of democracy. The only major victory of democracy was the election of Yeltsin as President. He got the better of five candidates. A brilliant success. And it's good that he won. We believe in Yeltsin and pin our hopes on him. However, in remote areas, in our town, for instance, there's a retreat from democracy. Former Party officials have become mayors or chief administrators. The change of office does not unfortunately lead to a change in habits and mentality. Your average person continues to fawn on his chief and dares not have a personal opinion. On August 19, 1991, when the coup attempt was made, they said: "It's good, order will be restored."

Cunning politicians can easily turn such people against democracy and use them for restoring the totalitarian regime. This is terrible. The demonic force of ignorance can ruin us. We can be saved by the knowledge and labour of everyone in his own personal interests and, hence, in the interests of all.

**Valerian Kanev,**
**pensioner**
Arkhangelsk Region, Russia

■ Not long ago you published two photographs, of Heinrich Himmler and Hermann Goering in their heyday... It would be useful if you could find full-length comparable photographs of them to show your readers what sort of men you're talking about. Just what sort of person is Mr Yeltsin? Is he suffering from the terrible food shortage in the USSR? A full-length photograph would solve your readers' problems. Of course Winston Churchill was grossly overweight at the time he held office here and why he was tolerated by the elders of his day and the electorate I cannot understand but with hind-sight it may be that you in the USSR can rediscover Lenin's secret to popularity – it was because he looked healthy (at least until he was assassinated with a poisoned bullet), in about the same way Edward Kennedy and all the rest, up to

## A victory for the United States?

■ "Why do we need so many armaments? Is anyone going to attack us?" This argument is as difficult to refute as another one, "Why are they (the West) arming? Are we going to attack anyone?" One French philosopher noted that everything passes in this world, but idiocy remains.

During six years in office Gorbachev "delivered the world from the Soviet military threat" or, simply speaking, undermined the military potential thanks to which the USSR maintained its status as a superpower. The Soviet Union, once compared in its level of development to the Upper Volta with missiles, turned into Upper Volta without missiles. Trying to catch up with the United States, we could not outdistance even Africa.

Yeltsin's new political initiatives in "retargeting the missiles" show that the Russian leadership continues Gorbachev's policy. After several more years of such "disarmament striptease" we shall have to catch up with penguins in Antarctica.

Yeltsin did not mention any new targets for the missiles of the former Soviet Union. In fact, he indirectly gave up nuclear deterrence as the policy of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Who won in the Cold War which has just ended? The winners are not all "human rights" and "universal human values," because such values do not exist in general. The claim to the universal nature of the doctrine of "human rights" conceals the claim to the universalism of a certain **political model.** It is no secret for anyone that the United States as a superpower bases its claims to having global status or, simply speaking, to "world domination," on the universal character of its political system. For decades America waged an undeclared war against the USSR. The main weapons in this war were not bombs, but jeans and Radio Liberty. Today this war has ended with a victory for the United States. Not CIA agents, but the Russian government itself dismantled missiles, the only weapon thanks to which we maintained the status of a superpower.

**Andrei Noviko**
**expert of the Experimental Creative Cent**
**headed by Sergei Kurginya**

## "I don't think our life will improve soon"

## Border-crossing ordeal

Rajiv Gandhi. But good health, a good body and a good head go together, and a full-length photo can work wonders for a critical analysis.

At a nearby hospital here we have surgeons who are overweight, that is to say who have got the necessary intelligence to take their own advice.

**L. Hanwell**
Surrey, United Kingdom

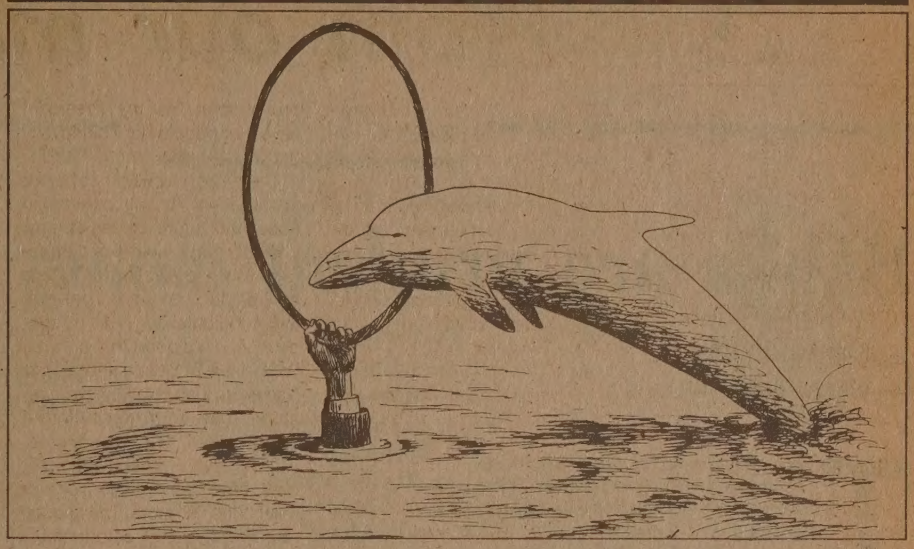
■ A curious article describing how tourists now cross the border between Russia and Estonia has appeared in our press.

It is a frosty night. A snow-covered road. On the Russian side people stand near a van which serves as a customhouse. Passports are checked in the van. Each tourist has to pay a levy of 25 rubles. After that they go up a 15-metre-high staircase and gather in their bus. The sinister silence is broken and people give vent to their indignation. They humiliate their own nation. It is mockery. They want us to die while we climb this damned mountain." Four-letter words were widely used. Gorbachev and Yeltsin were pinned as the main culprits. Having shouted abuses, the tourists fell asleep.

Commenting on all this, the author of the article asks: "Who could come to imagine that the usual procedure of crossing the state border would become a mockery? And not with an evil intention but because of callousness inherited from the Soviet past."

**M.Veis**
Tartu, Estonia

## THE WAY I SEE IT



*Drawing by Arkady Gursky*

■ ...I cannot believe that such a virulent attack could be launched against Gypsies as I felt in the letter of your reader T.Tyrina (No. 42/91). The statements made by Tyrina remind one of those made against the Blacks, the Chinese, the Jews and other ethnic groups in various countries. Her statements made me think of the Ku Klux Klan, Dr. Goebbels, and other outstanding racists.

For centuries the Gypsies have moved from place to place, and as with Australian aborigines, the so-called superior races have tried to force them to live their particular life-style, supposing without consultation with the Gypsies, that it was better than the life they had led for centuries. One has to look at the historical background to see why underpriviledged ethnic groups give rise to what we term as "anti-social behaviour."

**June Goss**
Sydney, Australia

■ I learned interesting things from V. Petrushin's article (No. 51/91). It turns out that the main cause of our present misfortunes is Orthodoxy. I am an atheist and, one would think, I should not care about religion. But even in polemic articles one should adhere to common sense, not to utopian ideas so dear to the author. The main culprit is the wretched Bolshevik government which persecuted and tried to annihilate the Orthodox Church for 70 years.

Before 1917 the Orthodox Church did not damp the enterprising spirit of religious Russian merchants who donated large sums to the Church and the poor, as is done by Western businessmen today. Petrushin is against giving aid to the poor. In the present difficult situation this stand is simply immoral.

**G.Buslayev**
St. Petersburg, Russia

## Why is Field Marshal better than Generalissimo?

The 180th anniversary of Russia's victory in the Patriotic War of 1812 is approaching. We celebrate loudly and joyfully the victory in the war against Nazi Germany and the liberation of many cities from German troops. However, the victory in 1812 is practically not observed. When the French army under Napoleon crossed the Russian border it had more than 600,000 men while the Russian army had only 240,000. The great army was deployed by ours, without political instructors and commissars. It was defeated within six months. After a fierce fighting near Maloyaroslavets on October 25, 1812, French troops fled ignominiously. If we recall this date it is then be said that the Russian army defeated the French within four months. Moreover, the tsarist army had enough arms for everyone and experienced no shortage of ammunition. In 1941, there was one rifle for three soldiers. It happened that boots and clothes were removed from the dead to dress those who went into the battle. The soldiers killed in fighting lay naked. There is never such a shame before in any other country.

The tsarist army had professional generals. In the Soviet Union, high commanders had been shot on Stalin's orders by 1941. A further comparison is again not in favour of "humane socialism." In the last war six or seven soldiers were killed in action per one German. What about our losses in the war against Napoleon? The ratio is not so terrible. A great deal has been written about Field Marshal Kutuzov's tactic of retreat. Kutuzov was a nobleman. He spared his soldiers and did not engage in fighting if he knew that Russian troops would suffer a defeat. As for Generalissimo Stalin, he used people as cannon fodder.

"Eternal Flames" flap day and night in honour of soldiers killed in the war against fascism. It is just. But why not build such memorials in honour of the victories won by Alexander Nevsky, Peter the Great and Dmitry Donskoi, and in honour of soldiers killed in the Afghan war?

**T.Kozhemyakina**
Moscow, Russia

***Compiled by* Tatiana Chernova**

*ECONOMICS*

# Banks are prudent money dealers

*Alexei Kireyev,*
Doctor of Sciences (Economics)

**Russia's admission to the International Monetary Fund and, consequently, the World Bank, is considered to be an already decided matter**

The IMF and the WB are commonly believed to have very similar functions, almost two branches of one organization. But this isn't correct.

Both the IMF and the WB were launched at the 1944 UN monetary conference in Bretton Woods. Later, the two got the status of specialized UN organizations and became a foundation on which the world's financial-credit realtions were built after WWII. In fact, both organizations have adopted similar rules and regulations. In distinction from heavily politically engaged international organizations of the UN type (which are often unable to quickly decide upon urgent matters) where each member country has one vote (the principle stalwartly upheld by Moscow), the Fund and the Bank, as they are universally known in the business world, operate on a different principle based on sharing their overall authorized capital into quotas.

The quotas determine: a) the size of each member country's share in the organization's authorized capital stock; b) the number of voices the member country is entitled to in voting at the management bodies; and c) the size of credits for the member country. The size of quotas has been reconsidered several times, but the proportion between the principal members remains unchanged.

The principal members are: the USA, the UK, France, the FRG, and Japan, each having at least 250 votes plus one vote for every 100,000 units of Special Drawing Rights (the unit of SDR is derived on the basis of the five principal Western currencies).

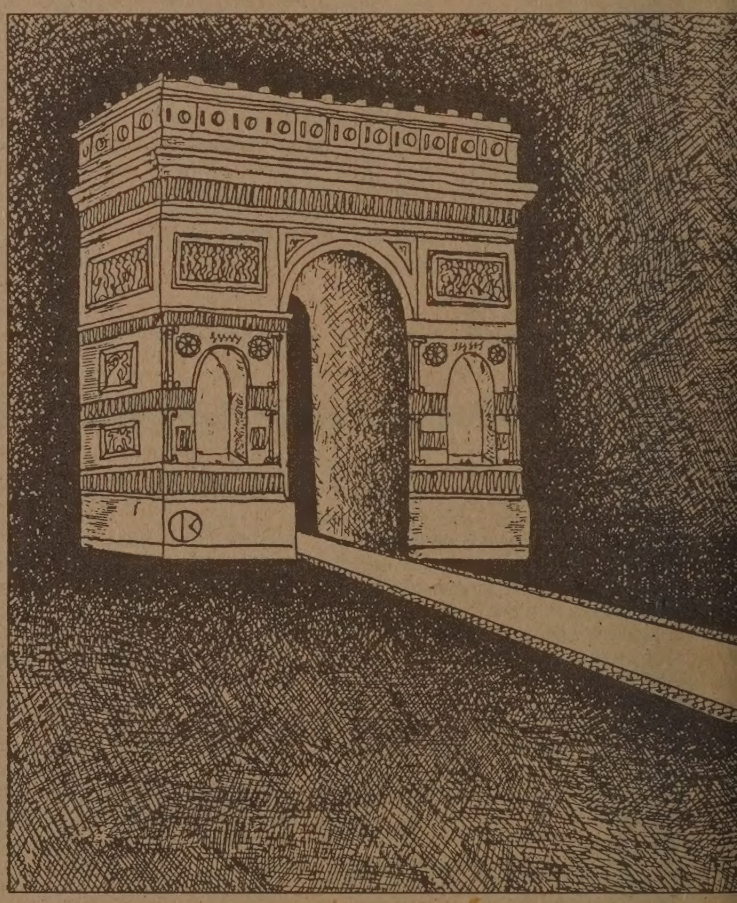
But here the similarity between the two organizations ends. Apart from the fact that their headquarters are in the same neighbourhood in Washington, the Bank and the Fund are very different organizations.

## Bridging over the budget deficit

The IMF's chief function is to coordinate the monetary and financial policies of the member countries. In order to maintain stability of their currencies, the IMF issues them short-term credits, bringing the balance of payments to an equilibrium.

Russia is craving for IMF membership. Russian government's experts foresee a national budget gap of $12.3 billion if Russia undertakes (in line with an agreement among the CIS members) to pay 61 percent of the USSR debt. But if Russia is to pay the entire debt (as the USSR's legal successor) – which cannot be excluded as a possibility, since many ex-USSR republics either cannot or will not pay their share – the deficit gap will broaden to $17 billion.

In order to be issued a credit, a country must necessarily be a member of the IMF and acknowledge all commitments involved in the membership, including: regular consultations between the beneficiary of the credit and the Fund's experts who

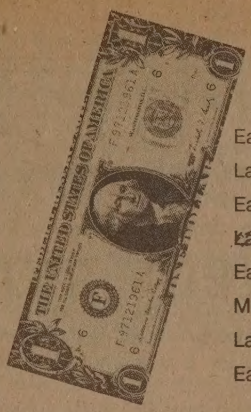


thus verify fulfilment of the commitments undertaken by the country and stipulated in the credit agreement; and supply of comprehensive and correct information on such sensitive issues as the balance of payments, gold and currency reserves, and money emissions.

Another and equally important problem that Russia wants to resolve with the help of the credits from the Fund is stabilization of the ruble in relation to convertible currencies and a gradual transition to the system of single exchange rate for all operations (which is a most important prerequisite for an internal and then also external convertibility of the ruble). According to the Russian government's assessment, the ruble-stabilization fund in the current year alone must be at least $6 billion above the state's official hard currency reserve.

Such a currency-stabilization fund is a novelty in the IMF's practice and represents a certain sum on the IMF accounts which can be remitted to the loaner country after the latter proves that the situation at home seriously endangers the national currency and that the government has exhausted all means to break the detrimental tendency.

*Drawing by Vladimir Soldatov*



**The market price of the US dollar in 1992**
*(in rubles)*

| | Purchased | Sold |
|---|---|---|
| Early January | 115 | 136 |
| Late January | 127 | 148 |
| Early February | 122 | 135 |
| Late February | 105 | 115 |
| Early March | 91 | 95 |
| Mid-March | 110 | 116 |
| Late March | 125 | 132 |
| Early April | 132 | 140 |

*(NT information)*

***NT comment***

Hard currency earners in this country who were startled by attempts of the Russian Central Bank and the government to depreciate their (earners') gains can now sit back and relax: the attempts have failed. A critical depletion of the Central Bank's hard currency reserves (which the Bank used as an argument against the practice of auction sale of hard currency) as well as a high rate of monetary emission have pushed the ruble on yet another spiral of depreciation, and the shortage of paper rubles was mistaken for the increase in the currency's strength.

That tendency is likely to continue for another few weeks. The expected hike of fuel prices can bring in its wake a recurrence of the March jump of the ruble: hard currency owners might again be seen lining up at the currency exchange outlets (this time to provide themselves with means to tank up, pay the gas and electricity bills and keep their ever costlier consumer baskets filled to the usual extent). This would bring the dollar down an even steeper slope than in March (especially with the $6 billion Fund for the stabilization of the ruble from the WB and the IMF).

**Our advice is:** change your dollars now before the next spiral of the ruble demand happens.

The mechanism of formation and use of this fund hasn't yet been fully developed, but it is already clear that the fund will be a deposit on an IMF regular bank account to be drawn from, in small portions, to carry out currency or commodity investments aimed at maintaining the ruble on the home and foreign markets. If the ruble falls sharply, the stabilization fund dollars will be injected to the internal currency market in order to make the dollar offer exceed the dollar demand, leading to strengthening the ruble exchange rate. An injection of commodities purchased with money from the stabilization fund will boost people's trust in the national currency and, consequently, its exchange rate.

However, this theoretical scheme has been impeded by uncertainty of sources of money to make up the stabilization fund as well as the money to pave the way to Russia's affiliation with the IMF, since any increase in the number of members implies reconsideration of the size of the members' quotas. The USA has the greatest say here, likewise anywhere else in the contemporary international financial system. Last year, the US administration promised to contribute $12 billion to increase its usual quota, but the plan met with fierce opposition in Congress which believed – and not without good reason – that the USA had lots of internal problems the solution of which could be expedited by investment of that money. If the US legislators fail to adopt a more generous attitude, the idea of the stabilization fund (and Russia's IMF membership, to boot) may fail to materialize.

## One third of the requirement

The World Bank is a conglomeration of international financial organizations which wield broad authority. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development offers industrial loans to countries and promotes private capital investment and international trade on the basis of long-term agreements. The International Development Association offers preferential credits to the least developed countries. In contrast, the International Finance Corporation is oriented chiefly at help for the private economy sector in the most advanced developing countries. Another multilateral agency issues guarantees for capital investments, and protects investors from non-commercial risks involved in, for example, military hostilities or

nationalization of private economic enterprises.

The chief distinction between the World Bank and the IMF lies here: the WB promotes long-term projects in its member countries, aimed at serious restructuring of the national economy and its quickest possible, and preferably painless, adaptation to the market system, rather than bridging gaps in the current balance of payments.

Russia's chief interest in the WB membership lies in the advantage of large investment credits which are issued to governments of member countries or to private organizations, given guarantees from the government, provided the country accepts recommendations of the WB experts and has no financial aid available from any other source.

Characteristically, the WB credits cover only 30 percent of the cost of the projects, the rest amount to be mobilized either at the domestic or international credits markets. Thus, credits from the WB can not only help restructure the national economy in Russia, but also attract foreign loans and investments to the country.

Of course, the WB gives credits only for financing particular projects: in power engineering, farming, and certain other key industries. However, WB experts need access to comprehensive economic data in order to be able to assess the situation in those areas of the Russian national economy. Regrettably, the situation there hasn't improved since the time of the former regime. Anyway, national statistics didn't specify Russia in its accounts on a number of points, for example, balance of payments.

But the most discouraging thing for foreign experts is that different government bodies supply contradictory statistics. Comparison between data from the Russian Supreme Soviet committees, the government, the Ministry of the Economy, the Ministry of Finance, the Central Bank, and the State Committee for Statistics prompts a conclusion about gross misunderstanding on the part of either Russian experts or their international colleagues. Not only are figures conflicting (which is a manageable problem if they are not exceedingly different) but also assessments of current tendencies. I can't shed a discomforting suspicion that statistics often are doctored to fit the desired result. The WB's accomplished experts immediately spot the fraud and demand explanations which are anything but easy.

Hopefully, this shortcoming isn't too menacing and only represents a liability involved in the process of maturing: the national economic statistics in the majority of developing countries within the WB's sphere of activity is in a much more deplorable condition.

Still another problem is posed by the strange behaviour of Russian bureaucrats in possession of data required by the Bank. In a year-old incident, the first ever large group of foreign experts, who came to Moscow to seriously study the Soviet economy, was asked to list the officials they intended to interview and even to specify the questions (evidently for the officials to be supplied all relevant information by their aides in advance).

We must realize that Russia wants to join the IMF and the WB in order to solve its own problems. It isn't the case of the Fund urging Russia to join it. We're knocking at the Fund's door and will be able to get financial aid only after we are admitted inside. ■

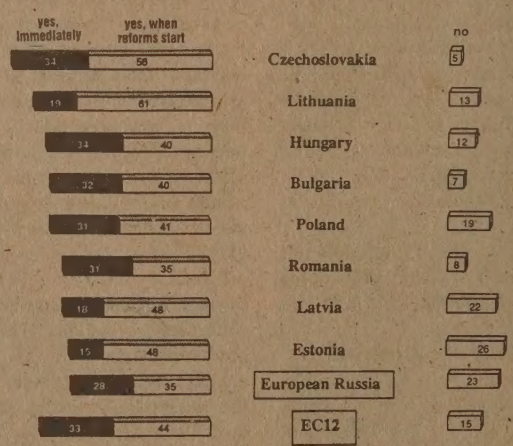
*PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY*

# To help or not to help the ex-Soviet Union?

The newly-independent ex-USSR republics are probing for credits form the EC and the rest of the West.

Shall the credits be issued? If so, then when: immediately or only after they embark on market-oriented reform?

**The survey was carried out by the EUROBAROMETER EC Commission, with assistance from the ROMIR organization engaged in assessment of Russian public opinion and market research (headed by Yelena Bashkirova).**




The greatest number of the opponents to the plan of issuing credits to the ex-USSR are to be found in Estonia, Latvia, and Poland. Noteworthy, one in every five residents in European Russia denies the urgency of such credits and believes that the credits would be squandered all the same.

On the other hand, Czechs, Slovaks, and Lithuanians believe the ex-USSR badly needs financial aid. People from elsewhere want to be sure of the efficiency of the reform first.

# "World stability depends on Russian reforms"

**"said Spanish Minister of Foreign Affairs Francisco Fernandez ORDOÑEZ in his first interview given to a Russian journalist, *NT* correspondent Sergei MURAVYOV**

Probably no other Spanish Foreign Minister stayed in his office as long as Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez. The ministry headed by him is the least criticized in the parliament. Even the conservative opposition is surprised at the absence of any serious criticisms to be levelled at the person who has been occupying the spacious study on the third floor of the Santa Cruz Palace in the historical centre of Madrid continually since 1985.

Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez, 62, has accumulated a rich experience of practical work. He has occupied the post of the Minister of Finances, the Minister of Justice, the President of the Adminsitrative Council of Banco Exterior and represented Spain in the International Monetary Fund , GATT and EEC. Besides, he was the founder of the Party of Democratic Action which merged with Socialists in 1982 and played a remarkable role in the shaping of democratic institutions in the post-Franco period. As concerns the Minister's policy vis-à-vis Russia, he can be unmistakably called the Spanish Genscher together with whom he makes up the "pro-Russian" tandem in NATO and EEC.

**New Times.** According to all symptoms, Russia is the driving force of the CIS, yet you don't believe that the latter will last long.

**Francisco Fernandez Ordoñez.** No, because it is too fragile.

**N.T.** So what is then in store for us in the long run?

**F.F.O.** Russia may become the backbone of progress, but it will take time. I asked Kozyrev the same question in Brussels: what will be in the future? Can we prognosticate anything in Europe? He said: "We are living through the period of centrifugal tendencies, but as soon as Russia finds support under its feet, all who are leaving now will return." I think it's a good answer.

**N.T.** At the time of Yegor Gaidar's recent visit to Europe you said that Spain must build its relations with Russia anew. How exactly?

**F.F.O.** We have maintained diplomatic relations with the USSR for 15 years and with Russia, since 1722, when Spain appointed Duque de Liria its first ambassador to St.Petersburg. Historical continuity must be restored. Soon I am coming to your country on an official visit in order to revise the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, to see which of the agreements earlier signed by Shevardnadze and me answer the present situation and also to prepare President Yeltsin's possible visit to Spain. In a word, I'm going to renew relations with Russia.

**N.T.** How does political instability in Russia affect the mood of your business circles?

**F.F.O.** Political instability will not be an obstacle for them if they show interest for concrete projects. The task is to understand this interest. Business people are used to acting in conditions of instability – however, relative, not revolutionary instability.

**N.T.** What, in your opinion, can be expected of the Lisbon conference on the aid for the CIS countries to be held this May?

**F.F.O.** I don't think a global breakthrough will take place there. But various countries, for instance, Kuwait and some others, are specifying their positions. We are already talking about the third meeting in Japan. If it takes place, it will mean that Japan is ready to cooperate. Cooperation with Russia and other former union republics won't come to an end in a few months. Your transition to a market-oriented economy requires from the West at least a coordinated policy of supporting your reforms. It is such a gigantic and complicated historical event that it must be supported by all friendly countries. In one case it may be the support of the balance of payment, in another, of delivery of milk by planes. But far from only that. Russia is a rich country potentially, it is not a Uganda, and the problem is different here, a more profound one. It's necessary to start working jointly in various domains, including conferences like that in Lisbon, with Russia and other CIS countries unfailingly participating in them. The Washington conference failed precisely because of their absence.

**N.T.** Making forecasts is often unrewarding, yet I'll take the risk of asking you to share your ideas on what may presumably occur in Europe in 2 or 3 years to come.

**F.F.O.** As I see it, the present developments in Eastern Europe are closely connected with Russia's both material and spiritual renaissance, or revival. There ought not to be a rich "North" and a poor "South" in Europe, analogous to the former West and East, so that the capitalism vs. communism alternative should not result in a sharp differentiation of the rich and the poor. Europe has to support the transformation of all that was formerly the Soviet Union – we have no other option. Spain is the remotest country from Russia, and precisely for that reason it is prepared to sacrifice most – even for purely egoistic reasons, because Europeans will be the first to benefit when the market mechanism is eventually created and starts working in Russia. So this approach is a profitable investment. At the same time it is necessary for the CIS citizens to constantly feel that they are not left to fate's mercy and that they are supported in this transition period.

**N.T.** Now, please, to conclude, a few words to the readers of *New Times*.

**F.F.O.** I would like to wish them good luck. Your success is ahead of you, and it should be noted that this is a very interesting period in Europe's life. The situation, naturally, doesn't leave anybody indifferent. We are with you, and we offer you all-round cooperation. Good luck to you!

**N.T.** Thank you for the interesting interview. ■

A state of emergency has been declared simultaneously by Kishinev and two parts of the Republic of Moldova – the Dniester left bank territory and Gagauzia, which consider themselves independent. As already happened in Nagorny Karabakh and South Ossetia, the events are getting out of control. The intention to keep away from these events, demonstrated by the Ukrainian leadership, concern voiced by Romania, and the inertia of the Russian authorities together with the clumsy attempts of the Moldovan leaders are driving the situation into a deadlock. The breakup of the USSR continues.

It is foolish to expect that the Russians will remain indifferent to the fate of the Russian-speaking population in the Dniester left bank territory. Indifference to Ukrainians living in that territory can sooner of later shake the power of the Ukrainian government while direct interference in the events, now discussed more and more frequently in Romania, is fraught with an East European explosion because Bucharest has its own ticklish problem – Transylvania – the revival of which would most likely draw Hungary and perhaps other countries of the former Austro-Hungarian empire into conflict.

The army is also preparing for a new role in the Dniester left bank territory. It was stated by army commanders that the conflict in Nagorny Karabakh got out of control precisely because the former Soviet troops remained neutral there. It should be remembered that emotionally the army is involved in the situation in the Dniester left bank territory to a much greater extent than in Nagorny Karabakh, because the troops, the officers' corps in any case consist mainly of Slavs.

# Hatred and fear on both banks of the Dniester

**It is hard to imagine what is now taking place in Moldova, though events in that republic could easily be predicted. The collapse of the Union machinery and, first of all, the breakup of the army have made war inevitable there**

The March events in Moldova indicate that the conflict between Kishinev and the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic is going over from sporadic clashes to a protracted armed struggle or, in fact, a civil war. A new aspect of the conflict is the participation of Russian volunteers (Cossacks) on the side of the Dniester Republic. On the other hand, there are well-known facts of the use of Romanian arms and military equipment by Moldovan units. The Dniester Republic even states that it has captured Romanian volunteers. But this is difficult to confirm since they do not have idendity cards on them. The situation is complicated by the lack of control over armed formations on the part of Kishinev and the Dniester Republic. Moldova has not yet raised its own army while the Cossacks and gaurdsmen of the Dniester Republic are rather irregular units with low level of discipline and semi-autonomous in their actions. The killing of individuals and the mysterious disappearance of people have become an everyday occurrence.

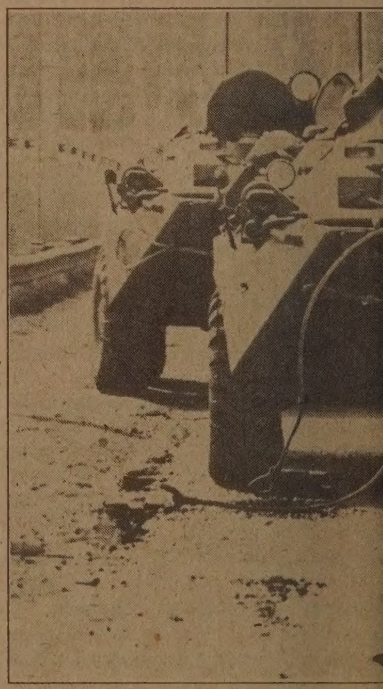
The destabilization of the situation and the whipping up of hysteria are desirible to those who do not believe in the future of Moldova as an independent state, a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States, and dream of its joining Romania as early as possible. Since in three referendums the population of the Dniester Republic expressed its firm desire to remain within a Union state or join a union of states as an independent member, it is evident that the aim of joining to Romania can be achieved only by using violence on a large scale. The Tiraspol city organization of the Christian Democratic Front of Moldova demanded shortly before the March events the abolition of all bodies "in the so-called Dniester Republic" and its joining to Romania together with Moldova. "Otherwise," it declared, "the problem of the Dniester left bank territory will be solved with armed force."

The Front and its members in the Moldovan parliament accused the Moldovan leadership of "inactivity" towards the separatists. It was also stated that the only way out of the deadlock lies in an immediate unification and integration of the armed forces of Moldova and Romania. In an interview to the BBC, President Snegur, usually restrained, threatened he would apply for assistance to Romania if Russia did not change its position (he meant the presence of Cossacks in the Dniester Republic).

## Republic or district?

In his public statements Premier Muravschi admitted the interest of "certain influential forces within the republic" in destabilizing the internal situation and abolishing the state of Moldova. However, neither President Snegur nor Premier Muravschi dares openly oppose the Front, which has claimed for itself the monopoly on patriotism and the national idea.

The Moldovan leadership is divided and incapable of pursuing an integral and persistent policy. In its decision taken on March 18 the government approved the idea of granting "a new territorial-administrative status" to the left bank region and "creating a free economic zone" there. Further, it advised the parliament to adopt a law proclaiming the left bank territory a district with Dubossary as its chief city. The government also suggested that the schedule for going over to Moldavian as the official language on the left bank should be prolonged till 1994-2000. On March 20 the parliament approved the government's stand stated in its decision, and simultaneously charged it with taking the necessary measures for restoring the lawful bodies on the left bank of the Dniester.



Moldovan policemen guard bridges over been blown up by guardsmen of the

The Dniester Republic has also adopted a more moderate stand, possibly under the influence of the changing situation. On March 10, after a long discussion, the Supreme Soviet (parliament) of the Dniester Republic declared a federal structure of Moldova. Thus, the international recognition of the republic's independence is no longer regarded as the prospect of building statehood on the left bank territory. However, Moldova's proposals will undoubtedly be turned down by the Dniester Republic as inadequate since the granting of the status of a free economic zone to the left bank territory will inevitably be accompanied by a demand for abolishing the government bodies formed in the Dniester Republic between 1990 and 1992.

## The left bank territory as a criterion of patriotism

The international reaction to the conflict between Kishinev and the Dniester Republic is now favourable for Moldova. The former Union republics fear that the process of disintegration will continue and seek to halt it at "their" level. For this reason they do not want to have a dangerous precedent on the left bank of the Dniester. The "red" and "Soviet" image of the Dniester Republic and the increasing attention of the Russian public, especially patriotic organizations, to it have intensified Russophobia in Ukraine. This explains why the Ukrainian leadership has toughened the border patrol with Moldova and has taken measures to prevent the penetration of Cossacks into the left bank territory.

the Dniester. Two of them have already Dniester Republic *Photo by ITAR-TASS*

Ukraine's support played a decisive part in the success of Moldovan diplomacy at the Kiev summit meeting of the Commonwealth of Independent States on March 20. In their decision on the Dniester left bank the member states clearly were in favour of preserving the territorial integrity of Moldova and pledged themselves to prevent the penetration of arms and volunteers into the area.

However, the stand of the Russian parliament differs from the above-stated one and is closer to that of Tiraspol than to Kishinev's stand. In its address to the Moldovan parliament the Russian parliament expressed the desire that the status of a free economic zone granted to the Dniester left bank should be supplemented by a political status guaranteeing the right to self-determination if Moldova loses the status of an independent state. Russia also refused to denounce the Cossacks. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, said that their actions had not been sanctioned by authorities and that they acted as private persons.

The attitude to the Dniester left bank problem becomes a criterion of patriotism in Romania and Russia. The joining of Moldova to Romania will merely increase tension. The south Bessarabian hotbed, potentially even more dangerous, will immediately be added to the Dniester left bank one.

The Dniester left bank problem cannot be solved in isolation from other regional problems, the first one being the legal status of the Republic of Moldova in the international community. The international guarantees of Moldova's independence from Romania could lay an important prerequisite for a peace settlement.

The idea of holding an international conference on the situation in the region seems to be in the air. But can it be realized at a time when the attention of politicians is focussed on other, more immediate and extremely numerous problems. If politicians sit idle the Dniester left bank region can become the centre of a huge whirlpool sucking in the neighbouring regions and whole states.

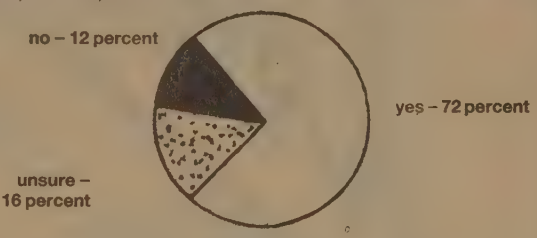
*Vladimir Solonar,*
People's Deputy of the Republic of Moldova

*SOCIOLOGICAL SURVEY*

**Prof. Boris Grushin's Vox Populi poll**

# Back to the USSR?

Do you favour the idea of transforming the USSR into a union of sovereign states? (In percentage of the respondents)




Seven out of ten Russians favour the idea of the integrity of the country, which has broken into sovereign states. Most of those who desire a reunification of the former republics give preference to forms characterized by maximum ties between them, as in the past.

This conclusion is convincingly proved by replies to the second question: "How do you imagine a future union?" Some 45 percent of respondents think it should be an economic, political and military union; 21 percent imagine it as an economic and political union, and only 25 percent see such a union as purely economic.

The idea of a union is supported most actively by people with higher education (83 percent of respondents), members of the parties of a communist orientation (81 percent), and residents of small towns (81 percent). The union is opposed most often by people employed in privately-owned, joint-stock and joint venture businesses (20 percent), housewives (20 percent), and inhabitants of Eastern Siberia (27 percent). Most of those who want the former republics to reunite have in mind not so much concrete forms of their interaction as the very idea of preserving ties, even in their old form – the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

A public opinion poll was held throughout Russia at the end of last year. As many as 2,000 people were approached in the poll.

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## Alexei Yablokov:

# "The threat of ecological disaster is no secret to the President"

**Our northern seas have become a huge nuclear waste dump, with twelve nuclear reactors of scrapped Soviet submarines. And that is not all...**

**The Russian Federation's State Counsellor for Ecological and Health Policy interviewed by Arkady Dubnov of *New Times*.**

Thousands of containers with radioactive waste and several atomic subs are buried in the Kara Sea. To make this sinister picture complete, add to it the situation which has arisen after the *Komsomolets* atomic submarine accident. Unlike all the other Soviet submarines, it had an all-titanium hull. As to the reactor body, it is made of steel. When a submerged submarine is in one piece and properly pressurized, titanium and steel are separated. The accident resulted in the decompression of the hull – an analysis showed that the submarine had hit the bottom at great speed, which is also evidenced by the photographs taken there. In seawater, titanium and steel formed a electrolytic couple.

Alexei Yablokov

**As far as I remember my school physics, one metal becomes the cathode in this case, the other metal, the anode, and salt-water, the electrolyte.**

Quite right. This triggered the process of electrolytic dissociation, with the metals corroding, and the submarine hull and the reactor body crumbling. There have been cases of titanium barges with hulls 1.5 cm thick, moored at iron wharves, merely sinking in a year's time owing to their "rapidly dissoluble" hulls having formed a titanium-iron electrolytic couple.

**What does the military have to say on that score? It is supposed to know about this danger. Hasn't it taken such emergency situations into account?**

I haven't asked the military, but I'm absolutely certain it knows about the problem, and as absolutely uncertain that it cares... Now it has other headaches: army crisis, and economic crisis in general: there isn't even enough fuel to take the ships out to sea for naval exercises... Other experts, however, confirm my fears that with time the reactor of the *Komsomolets,* now lying on the bottom of the Barents Sea may become, as a result of corrosion, a dozen of times stronger source of radioactive pollution than all the present radioactive dumps in the Kara Sea are. Today, as yet, they are relatively safe.

## A nuclear waste burial ground

**If you agree that nuclear waste has actually been buried in the Kara Sea on several occasions then what about the assurances made to the IAEA in 1990 by the Soviet government which officially denied this practice? A *New Times* correspondent learned this from Dr. Hans-Friedrich Meyer, an IAEA representative, in Vienna.**

Information about the "burials" appeared in our media, and no one denied it. Andrei Zolotkov, a former People's Deputy of the USSR who had dealt with the problem, also reported the facts, and I have some Murmansk papers carrying confirmation of the reports from the local naval base. I don't think that the USSR Government ever made the assurances you've mentioned. That must have been a statement by some deputy minister – an ill-informed one. The Gosatomnadzor (Atomic Supervision Committee) of the USSR had no way of monitoring the activities of the Defence Ministry or the Navy. We have just remedied the situation and set up

When purification facilities fail we inhale "metallic snow"

*Photo from Stern*

the Russian Atomic Supervision Committee which the military is now accountable to. Recently, the Navy asked for the Committee's permission to bury liquid radioactive waste in the Kara Sea. The permission was not granted.

**All right, this practice has been banned. So what happens to this waste now?**

Look at how all civilized countries deal with the nuclear waste disposal problem: they build special storages, concentrate the waste, and so on... In any case, we shall no longer put up with violations of international law. In accordance with international regulations, nuclear waste can be buried at sea on condition that precise information is provided on what kind of waste is buried and where, and that the the depth of burial should be no less than four thousand metres... Neither the Kara, nor the Barents Seas are that deep. And, besides, radioactive waste is dumped elsewhere, too...

## Atomic nuclear plants have not become any safer in the CIS

**Judging by the quickness with which the news of the March 24 Sosnovy Bor atomic power plant accident reached the outside world, we have begun to reckon with public opinion at home and abroad. By the IAEA seven-degree scale, our experts estimated the accident as third-degree. How dangerous is this level, and why was it estimated before IAEA experts had arrived on the scene?**

According to the scale, third-degree is a "serious accident" which means that the probable discharge of radioactivity did not exceed the normal daily amount five-fold. Judging by everything, no marked rise in radioactivity level took place in the atomic power plant area. Now we have to keep a close eye on the situation and to monitor this level continuously.

*Drawing by Vladimir Nenashev*

As to the IAEA experts, one shouldn't expect them to be objective with regard to our atomic power plants. The IAEA report on the level of our atomic power plants' safety, which appeared a few months ago, was coached in terms so soothing, that no one paid it any attention. Now a Greenpeace analysis of that report's initial data has revealed that the safety level of the CIS' atomic power plants is one-hundredth the world's average. Therefore, it is necessary, right now, to stop all of our old reactors which are not up to the international nuclear safety standards.

## Siberia will be adding to our country's radioactivity

**Alexei Vladimirovich, let us now come back to the Kara Sea. What do you mean by saying that "waste is dumped elsewhere"?**

I am concerned, and very much so, about other sources of the Kara Sea's contamination, about the practice of dumping radioactive waste in bodies of water in Siberia. Before we come to know for certain where Krasnoyarsk-45 and Tomsk-7 dispose of their radioactive waste, we have every reason to believe that all this waste, amounting to millions upon millions of curies, has been dumped in the Arctic Ocean. These plants, just as the well-known Chelyabinsk-65, produce elements in the nuclear-fuel cycle. In Tomsk, as far as I know, waste is pumped into special underground storages, and Krasnoyarsk waste probably goes to the Yenisei River. There are too many indirect indications of that. Last year, for example, I read in the newspapers that the level of radioactive contamination of water in the lower reaches of the Yenisei amounted to 3-5 curies per sq. kilometre, which equals the soil contamination level around the Chernobyl atomic power plant. I have heard from the Greens in Krasnoyarsk recently that a narrow strip of land (some 100 m) along the Yenisei River, has a contamination level of 40 curies per one sq. kilometre in places over the distance of 1,500 km below Krasnoyarsk. Throughout the length of the river, there is only one source of contamination – the plant in Krasnoyarsk which has been in operation since the fifties... Only an expedition to the lower reaches of the Yenisei, to the Kara Sea, and analyses of bottom sediments, can confirm or dispel these terrible suspicions.

**We are still trying to fathom the ecological abyss we've found ourselves in. We are not in a position to rectify the situation?**

Radioactive contamination is the most dangerous kind of contamination today. President Yeltsin shares this view. As many as five decrees and resolutions on ways to combat radioactive contamination have been issued over the past four months – no other kind of contamination has ever been

# IAEA: an "atomic lobby"?

No sooner had it come to Austria than the news of the Sosnovy Bor (St.Petersburg area) atomic power plant accident riveted mass media attention. The local authorities' reaction to the event was instantaneous. The Interior and Health Ministries set up special divisions whose job it was to protect the public from the likely threat of radioactive contamination. After measurements had been taken by all the 336 meteorological stations of the country, Health Minister Harald Ettl reported, with a light heart, that there was no cause for concern, thank God.

Passions are running high in the country over the issue of atomic power plants. The Vienna headquarters of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) comes under fire ever more frequently. The Greens call it an "atomic lobby" which is all out to prevent the termination of nuclear power programmes, while Environment Minister Ruth Feldgrill-Zankel called on the countries having no atomic power plants on their territories (in Europe they are Poland, Austria and Italy) to pool their efforts in working out alternative power-supply projects.

The Sosnovy Bor accident gave the local press an extra occasion to remind the public that the IAEA and the atomic energy industry are trying to belittle in every way the danger of the atomic power plant accidents that have taken place. For instance, the Vandellos power plant accident in Spain (1989) was kept secret for months until it transpired that repairing the plant would cost a lot of money. Before that, news of th 1980 Saint-Laurent power plant accident in France had been suppressed for quite a while. Grave accusations are being made against the atomic energy experts who have concealed the disastrous state of repair of the Kozlodui atomic power plant in Bulgaria.

*Anatoly Kovrigin,*
*NT* correspondent,

VIENNA

# Is there need for underground tests?

## From the study submitted to US Congress

Last year we did a comprehensive review of the safety of the US nuclear stockpile since World War II and the subsequent buildup to more than 20,000 warheads and came to the following conclusions:

We can and should make important progress toward enhanced safety of the nuclear stockpile in a number of ways that do not require underground nuclear test explosions. They include:

– redirecting the weapons RDT&E (research, development, testing and evaluation) programme towards enhanced safety as its principal goal;

– performing laboratory experiments to develop a data base that is required for sound analyses of the risks of initiating a nuclear yield or of dispersing plutonium under a variety of abnormal circumstances for existing weapons;

– retiring older weapons from the stockpile that fail to meet modern safety design criteria;

– adapting common warheads of compatible size that already exist and incorporate the desired safety features to several different weapons systems that are designated to remain in the US arsenal;

– adopting operational procedures – such as limiting aerial overflights – to minimize handling and transporting risks.

*Map from Der Spiegel (Germany)*

If, or when, it is judged that agreeing to a CTBT (comprehensive test ban treaty) is important to "stopping and countering proliferation," in Secretary Baker's words, I think we should agree to such a ban.

*Sidney D. Drell,*
Stanford University,
CALIFORNIA

dealt with so vigorously. One of these documents rules that a list should be made of all the contaminated areas and all the potential sources of contamination so as to get the picture country-wide. The important thing is that Yeltsin has been to Chelyabinsk-65, seen Lake Karachai rendered lifeless by radiation, the River Techa, and made several trips to the Chernobyl zone. I am sure the President is well aware of the magnitude of the problem. The ecological situation is getting steadily worse. Radioactive contamination of the environment is a threat not so much to us as to the generations to come. Our grandchildren will damn us for it.

## We are in the ozone hole again

The biggest threat to us is posed by a steady dwindling of the ozone layer in the atmosphere over the European territory. This phenomenon is going to give us a hard time. Over the past few years, until the mid-1991, the amount of ozone in middle latitudes of the Northern Hemisphere diminished by three percent which, at my estimate, increased the incidence of cancer by 12,000 cases a year in the European part of the country; in 1991, the ozone layer dwindled another 40 percent.

**Didn't ozone holes appear before? Weren't effective measures taken to "heal" them?**

Indeed, the Montreal Protocol was signed in accordance with which the production of ozone-destroying agents is to be stopped by 1997. We have signed this Protocol, too, but aren't doing anything to put its provisions into practice. The whole world is now changing over from chlorofluorocarbons, which destroy the ozone layer, to their substitutes. Although slightly more expensive, they are our only hope. The President assured us that a state programme would be worked out for reducing the discharge of ozone-destroying substances into the atmosphere. None of the programmes adopted in the Soviet Union before worked, but who cared?

**Alexei Vladimirovich, that our North has become a dump and this is only half the trouble. The other half is the still "silent" nuclear test ground in Novaya Zemlya. Will this silence ever be broken again?**

The military insist that the tests in Novaya Zemlya be resumed. On February 27, the President signed a decree on restoring the test site there, preparing new tunnels and galleries for underground blasts, because the Semipalatinsk test site has been closed for good. If the Americans do not join the unilateral nuclear test moratorium we have proclaimed, the President will be compelled to call it off.

If nuclear tests are necessary and inevitable so far, a suggestion goes, why not carry them out in one place – Nevada, for instance? This will cost us a pretty penny but turn out to be cheaper all the same. The suggestion was put forward a year ago by Academician Vitaly Goldansky, Chairman of the Soviet (as it was called then) Pugwash Committee. It is being kept mum about because the idea doesn't appeal to certain quarters here. The military-industrial complex has always skilfully conducted, and continues to conduct, a propaganda campaign for nuclear tests. We are not going to develop new types of nuclear weapons, it says, but we have to test the warheads already made lest they should detonate accidentally... Academician Sakharov said that there exist absolutely reliable physical methods, outside tests, of checking whether the warheads are in order.

I respect these people for what they have done, but one has to make a choice sooner or later...

**You have already made it, haven't you?**

I think so... In 1953, when I studied biology at Moscow University, all the male students who majored in natural sciences and made good academic progress, were transferred to the chemistry department which, as we found out, trained specialists in rocket propellants. Those were very special times, no one was supposed "to reason why," so I decided to take two courses – biology and chemistry – simultaneously. Some time later, I quit the chemistry department, nevertheless. Many stayed on... One of them has become a Lenin Prize winner, now he is President of the Chernobyl Union. He has made his choice later...

# A man who gets his way

Lev Vainberg, 47, is one of the biggest Moscow businessmen. He is a qualified engineer, a candidate of sciences and has received an award from the USSR Council of Ministers for his work with computer systems and testing of electronic devices. In 1987, he headed one of the first joint ventures Interkvadro. Now he is the chairman of the company Systems and Projects. He says that he has always been involved in business.

**The philosophy of personal success is risking and winning**

**– How do you mean? Business was officially permitted only recently, and as far as we know, you were never a part of the shadow economy...**

– It is all very simple. Part of the biological population which calls itself people is always entrepreneurial. I think this active part comprises about 4 percent of the population. So entrepreneurs are not made but born.

**– How did you take advantage of your ability before?**

**– First of all, I always had many jobs on the side. You could say I hustled. I had a lot of practice and later helped Georgians in various ways. Secondly, I was always an organizer. For instance, I was the chairman of several housing construction cooperatives, including the one for the house I live in. And thirdly, I quickly became the head of a group at my main job. I always wanted to make decisions myself.**

**– So is an entrepreneur just a good organizer?**

– Not entirely. In one sense all the current entrepreneurs are adventurists. Of course, each one in his own way. I, for example, began my Interkvadro with 400 grammes of alcohol. I just exchanged this alcohol for a table and two chairs. And in two years, that is in 1989, we had a company with a turnover of 6 million. In general, I took a challenge and proved to myself that I could make something out of nothing. It seems to me that the main thing in entrepreneurship is the ability to make decisions. Why did I leave Interkvadro? I sensed before the others that our business was dying. But this feeling came to me when the firm was flourishing, and the French partners didn't believe me. A conflict arose and I left – and in the end it turned out I was right. I always seek the shortest route to success. In a way it's a game. I like working to the limit of my intellectual capacity, and I have always wanted to be first. By the way, this is typical of all animals.

**– What kind of a person are you?**

– I'm a tank. A T-34, only without a gun. For I'm a person who always gets his way. At different times, of course, my activity was aimed at different goals. At first I wrote my dissertation, then I got the award from the Council of Ministers, whereas others went on hikes and took part in student singing contests. But both they and I, we all emerged from the times of stagnation. Then the social atmosphere changed and my activity took another direction. Remember what Gorbachev said after the coup: "Now I know who is who."

I always felt myself to be free. Even if I understood that there was no breaking through, I always tried to extend the sphere of the permissible. And acted very effectively. For example, on June 19, 1990, statute No. 590 about joint stock companies and associations went into effect. I followed it throughout the process of its being adopted. And as soon as it was, I decided to immediately drop the joint venture Interkvadro. And that's when we set up the company Systems and Projects – it was registered in August 1990, that is, two weeks after the new statue had been made public.

**– Did you give a bribe?**

– I have never given bribes. It's a

According to the latest sociological research, 70 percent of Muscovites experienced a sharp drop in living standards in the first two months of this year. But we want to talk about others – about those, so far few, whose economic situation didn't worsen, but in some cases even improved – the entrepreneurs. Not the "fat cats," who opened up the millionaires' club here and have arranged feasts during the plague – tasteless extravagant presentations and contests with thousands of prizes. But others – self-respecting specialists, normal worthy people and, what is most important, able to take advantage of their freedom. You can read about how they did it in each instance in the series of interviews under the heading, "New Russian Entrepreneurs" (it is the Ekspertiza Centre's project, which is financed by the Moscow Bank for the Development of Science and Technology, Tekhnobank).

matter of principle. All my friends do, but not I. I don't feel I need to. I am competent enough to tell anyone: there is a law, so why don't you do it?" Besides, I have been the president of the Association of Joint Ventures for a while now and people, as a rule, do not like to deal with officials. By the way, my colleagues chose me to be the president because they understood that I was a man who always got his way. The association is basically a lobbying organization. The statutes of the Council of Ministers about JVs is quite inadequate, and each question, each little thing has to be fought for.

**– Such a view of the world has been described by sociologists. It is the Protestant entrepreneur who thinks that God predestined him to be first, that he is doing God's work.**

As a whole, I agree with that, though I'm a pagan. I just like to make decisions and solve problems on the spot.

**– And not even, excuse me, being Jewish was a problem for you?**

– Not really. I feel the same wherever I am, even in Israel. And to me attributing special significance to nationality is about the same as being proud you were born on Tuesday.

**– Was it really hard for you to stop working for the state?**

– Yes, that was very hard. I had been working at a prestigious institute, at the Moscow Aeronautical Institute, and headed a research group there. I would have become a professor or even head of a department. But in business I had to start from zero.

**– So what made you do it?**

– Financial reasons for one. I could have earned a little more than the others working for the state if I had tried to. But my wife and I sometimes wanted to change our life cardinally. We thought we'd organize a joint venture, make big money and travel abroad. Also our spirit of adventurism played a role. At first we doubted that we could earn a lot.

**– Nevertheless, what role did your desire to make big money play in your becoming an entrepreneur?**

– You must understand, for me the main thing is success. Success for the sake of success. Money and property may even be in the last place. Besides a burning interest, there is no motivation which could force a person to work 18 hours a day, even on weekends. I've always had enough money. And a year after working at Interkvadro I had no financial problems whatsoever. I was the most highly paid manager in the country.

**– How much did you make, if it's no secret?**

– My salary was 2,500 rubles, plus travel expenses in dollars and other perks. For 1988-89, that was a lot of money.

**– Do you own a big share of the property of the companies you are part of now?**

– 15-20 percent on the average.

**– Do you want to pass that on to your children?**

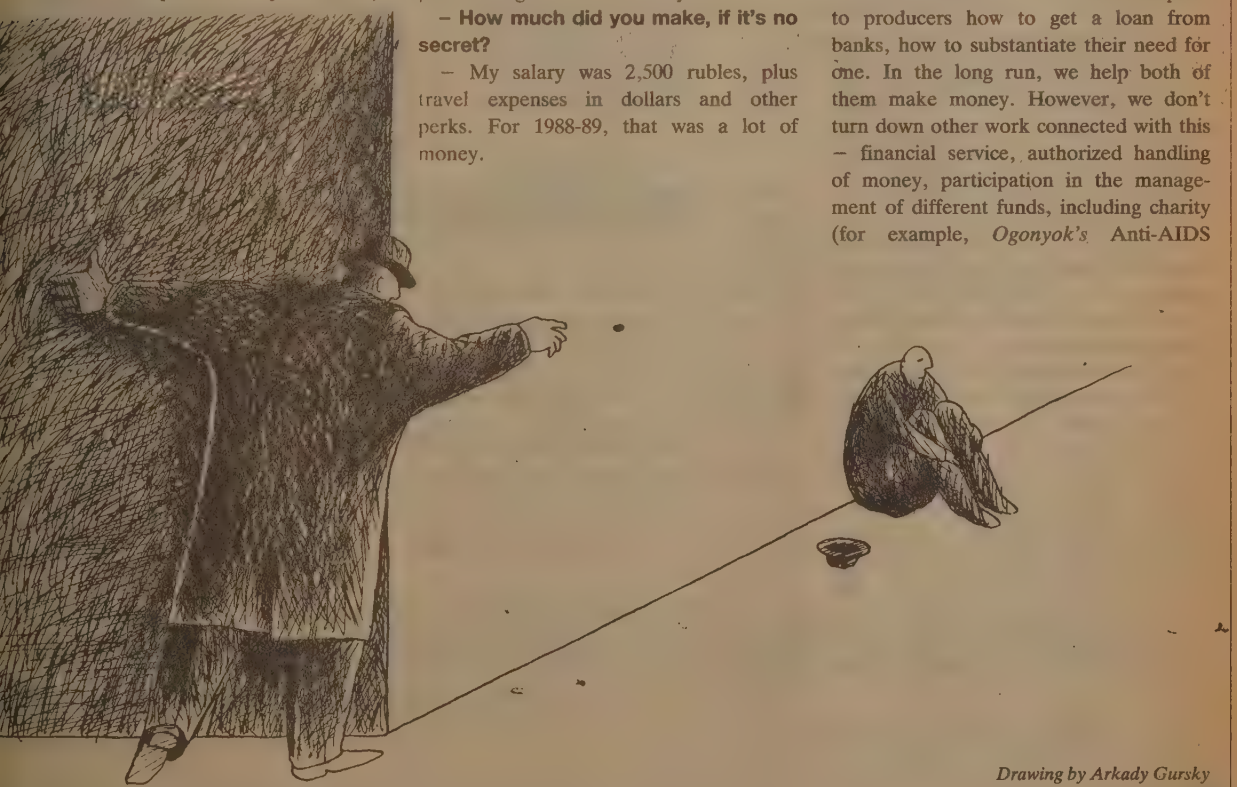
– I haven't really thought about that. I think the main thing children should be given is an education and to waken their interest in something. I'm not especially trying to have a big bank account. As soon as I make money, I use it to make more.

**– How did your relatives and close friends react to your quitting the state job?**

– My wife and close friends – all who knew and understood me – expected it. Many of my friends and colleagues went with me, and we still work together. But there is less and less time for socializing. Business is a passion, a calling, like poetry and art... I want to do something new all the time – this is the main reason for my living.

**What new are you doing now?**

– I'm making investment programme. Our firm Systems and Projects is something between an industry and a bank. It is an analytical centre and an intermediary at the same time. We recommend investments to banks and explain to producers how to get a loan from banks, how to substantiate their need for one. In the long run, we help both of them make money. However, we don't turn down other work connected with this – financial service, authorized handling of money, participation in the management of different funds, including charity (for example, *Ogonyok's* Anti-AIDS



*Drawing by Arkady Gursky*

Fund). Now we're getting more and more into auctions and privatization. It seems to me that this is very promising and is becoming my main business now.

**–So what are you really – more of a private entrepreneur or a manager?**

– A manager. I'm not a private property owner, but a specialist. A specialist on managing big systems. Figuratively speaking, I know that if you press a button here, after a while something will happen somewhere else. I was trained to be a systems engineer.

**– To what degree does a systems engineer need to be a psychologist? How do you select your employees?**

– Through personal acquaintance first of all, not by the backstairs influence. I want to know something about that person, to see recommendations. I open up new opportunities to anyone who comes to me. I ask: Why did you come to me? Do you want an interesting job? A lot of money? I'll give you a lot of money. What then? I think there's only one normal motivation to work – being first. And I, in principle, believe in the initiative and healthy spirit of our people. They survived the camps and the cells and remained people. And when there is a more or less normal situation, the people adjust quickly. However, you have to keep pushing them. But if a person works poorly, I'll fire him – and not only for my good, but his, too.

**– Today there are various kinds of entrepreneurs. Some are former directors of state enterprises. Others are from the "shadow economy." Then there are those like you, who went into business after 1987. Who, in your opinion, will dominate the market tomorrow?**

– It's not important what you were before 1987. Tomorrow those will be on top who are the most intelligent and active. And if the former director of the state enterprise loses out, it is only because the new structure doesn't permit him to succeed at his level of competence. He may come from the nomenklatura, but his ability allows him to sort things out and make his way. Shevardnadze is an example of this in politics. On the other hand, there are many educated young fellows in the current Russian government who have degrees in economics and speak foreign languages, but nevertheless think that all entrepreneurs are swindlers and crooks.

**– Is that really true of Gaidar's people, too?**

– Yes, I meet with them regularly, and there is no big problem. And this government's calling itself democratic doesn't impress me greatly. I always judge people only by the level of their competence.

**– When you began business with 400 grammes of alcohol, you took a risk, but not much of one. What do you stand to lose today?**

– Everything. I can lose my business. Of course, I analyse all the alternatives. But the main thing that distinguishes an entrepreneur from the rest of the people is the ability to take risks. You are not a banker if you don't risk half your capital every two weeks, and all of it every three months. I'm ready to take a risk every day if it is reasonable. The matter is that most of our people are horrified of taking a risk. You asked me if it was hard to leave my state job. For most people it is something insurmountable. They have an animal's fear of independence. They are calmer with the miserable dole guaranteed them by the government and aren't prepared to believe in themselves. That's why I cultivate in myself and those around me the philosophy of personal success, the ability to take risks and win.

**– What do you think lies ahead for Russia? Are you making long-or short-term plans in connection with this?**

– Don't worry. Everything will be all right. Do you know how the period of transition from communism to capitalism is called? I call it Borovism. Right now is the epoch of Borovoi (a leading Russian entrepreneur. – **Ed.**) And there's nothing frightening about it, because he's a capable little guy.

I bank on long-term programmes. Of course, I know there's going to be several years of instability. So what?

The ship is in a storm. But there are methods of working in storm conditions. We have been in a stormy sea for four years already, and no catastrophe, nobody has died yet. Only a year ago, when registering my firm, I had to force my way within a month almost single-handed. Today I tell my boys: register this or that document in accordance with law, and in two weeks everything is done. That means things are slowly working out. After all, how many years have I been an entrepreneur? Only four. Managers of foreign companies just study for ten years.

*Igor Bunin,*

*Yelena Chekalova*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AFGHANISTAN

# The war peters out

**Najibullah is prepared to resign in order to save the country and himself. But who will there be to save the country if he goes?**

On March 25 Reuters sent an urgent report on firing near the presidential palace in Kabul. Previously, the city was full of rumours about an approaching coup. Rumours about a coup did not materialize. It turned out that a fire began in one of the buildings of the presidential complex. The fire spread to an ammunition depot, and shells and bombs began to explode. However, rumours about the imminent overthrow of Najibullah were not altogether groundless.

## Najibullah in a new role

A week before the fire a meeting of the ruling establishment was held. It was attended by representatives of the Fatherland Party, the government, the parliament and the military. After that Najibullah announced that in keeping with the UN plan he would transfer power to a transitional government consisting of representatives of all feuding parties.

One day we shall learn whether Najibullah resigned on his own free will or whether, in the Asian manner, he was politely asked to do so by participants in the high assembly. In any case, tension within and outside Afghanistan began to increase. Many predict that the days of the Afghan leader in his high office are numbered. Is it so?

Three years have passed since all Soviet troops were pulled out of Afghanistan. But till now Najibullah has been broken neither by the armed opposition nor by treacheries in Kabul. There are several reasons for the stability of his power.

First of all, he controls the military, rather powerful by regional standards. The main component of this force is combat aircraft, which the mujahedin do not have. Thanks to this force Kabul retains control over the majority of the country's large cities.

Najibullah has one more big advantage. He has mastered the art of political manoeuvring. Within the country, this means the ability to exploit feuds between the Afghan ethnic, tribal and religious groups. It includes the practice of bribing tribes which were rather independent even under the king. This is done in the following way. A tribe fights against the central government so that the latter doesn't encroach on its independence. As a matter of fact, it is a typical bandit formation. The government offers the armed groups of this tribe to be in its service, they are fully equipped and even given military ranks. Poor tribes readily agree to such an arrangement, though on any day they can turn their arms against the government if the pay is delayed.

Another factor is the achievement of at least an unstable peace between the Khalq (the people) and Parcham (the banner) factions of the former People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. Khalq conducted its activity mainly among the poor sections of the population, Parcham – among the intellectuals. When I was an adviser in the Kabul newspaper, *Hewad,* nine years ago and lived in a five-story block of flats together with Afghans, I watched funerals there almost every week. Mainly activists and top officials of the People's Democratic Party lived in those houses. The killed people were buried in the mound not far from the central stadium. Most often they were victims not of mujahedin but of inner-party strife. Najibullah was able to subdue the antagonism evidently by bringing it home to his colleagues that they must hold together or they will all perish.

Najibullah changed the image of the People's Democratic Party, renamed it and renounced Marxist-Leninist ideology. February 15, the day when the last Soviet soldier left Afghanistan, was made a holiday, the Day of National Salvation. The Soviet troops were officially described as an occupying force and enemies of the Afghan people.

Is it a complete political transformation and betrayal of thousands of people who were sincerely dedicated to the ideas of the people's government in its Marxist-Leninist understanding? I think that most likely the Afghan leaders take into account new realities, namely the disintegration of regimes based on communist ideology in the former USSR and Eastern Europe, and in other regions of the world. It is pragmatism, a desire to keep a reasonable part of the party cadres in the future bodies of multi-party power, to prevent their physical annihilation. There is no doubt, however, that the main pillar of the future regime will be the same feudal lords whom serfs could not be persuaded by the People's Democratic Party to see as their class enemies, and not benefactors. Even the former king of Afghanistan, Zahir Shah, who has lived for many years in emigration in Italy and was invited by Najibullah to return to Kabul, does not suit the uncompromising opposition, because he is "too secular" for it.

The President recently applied for economic aid to Washington. The United States, he said, should be interested in backing his positions, because the assumption of power by Islamic fundamentalists and drug dealers runs counter to its interests.

The internal and foreign policy of Najibullah makes doubtful forecasts that his regime is about to fall. He will apparently have to leave the Afghan scene, because his image as a henchman of Moscow is indelible. However, before leaving he can do a lot for restoring a peaceful life in the country.

## The Central Asian factor

The nuances of the Kabul regime were certainly taken into account when the UN plan for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan was drawn up. If there were no hope for peace Benon Sevan, a special representative of the UN Secretary-General, would not act as a "shuttle emissary" over the past three years, conducting talks in New York, Islamabad, Teheran, Moscow and Kabul.

In accordance with the UN plan a conference of roughly 50 representatives of all Afghan forces and sections of the population is to be convened in Geneva or Vienna at the end of April. It will be attended by politicians, intellectuals, religious leaders, high-ranking officers, and chiefs of ethnic groups and tribes. The aim of the conference is to prepare for the formation of a transitional government of national concord, and this government will have to hold a general election.

A peace-making stand has been adopted by the United States, Pakistan, Iran and Saudi Arabia, which supplied the mujahedin with arms. Under a mutual agreement Washington and Moscow stopped arms deliveries from January 1. Hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees become increasingly undesirable for Pakistan and Iran. The fact that the areas held by the mujahedin are now a large centre of drug trafficking causes a headache both for Washington and Teheran.

New realities have appeared in connection with the breakup of the USSR and the gaining of independence by its former Central Asian republics. New regional interests have emerged as much more important. Pakistan, Iran and Turkey (which has no relation to the internal struggle in Afghanistan) immediately began to flirt with new Central Asian states for various reasons, but mainly economic ones. In the world, where the markets are strictly divided and restricted from outsiders, four or more southern republics of the former USSR represent a potentially rich market for the sale of goods, a source of raw materials and a region for capital investments. The most convenient merchant routes for Pakistan and Iran to the north lie through Afghanistan. That is why they are now interested in achieving stability in that region as soon as possible.

Refugees are returning to Afghanistan. The large-scale war is over. Small-scale wars are not so terrible

*Photo from Time magazine (USA)*

## Sovereignty for every tribe

The process of self-isolation by tribes and territorial-ethnic groups which formerly swore allegiance to the king began with the abolition of the monarchy in Afghanistan. In the past few years the tendency has gathered speed.

Indeed, nothern Afghanistan is inhabited by Tajiks and Uzbeks who are drawn towards unification, or at least a union, with their brothers in the former Soviet republics. Russian teachers in the Kabul University told me that teachers from Tajikistan "fraternized" with Afghans, saying that the Russia had first occupied Tajikistan and then Afghanistan. Russian teachers assessed such behaviour as a sort of treachery. Today this is assessed in a different way. In the south of Afghanistan, the border with Pakistan did not virtually exist for the Pushtuns and other ethnic groups and did not hinder their communion with relatives living abroad.

Foreseeing a possible breakup of the country, different groups of mujahedin are hurrying to put as large a territory as possible under their control. As a result, armed clashes began between them. Fighting is reported in the provinces of Kunduz, Kandagar, Balkh, Helmand, Takhar, Badakhshan, Kabul, Kunar, Nangarhar, Wardag, Ghor, Parwan and Logar – that is, almost everywhere. Hundreds of people have been killed or wounded, even more than in the clashes between the opposition and government troops.

In the past few weeks high-ranking officers revolted in the north. Kabul intended to replace these officers, who came from the national minorities of that region, with Pushtun commanders. As a result, it lost control over the north. This means the loss of Mazari-Sharif, which lies on the only highway linking Kabul with the former Soviet Union, the city of Khayraton, on the very border, and Sar-i-Pul. The break-up of Afghanistan has become quite real, and Najibullah's striving for national reconciliation is an objective desire to maintain the country's unity.

The anti-Kabul organizations based in Peshawar are having hard times. They had formed a government in exile headed by S. Mujaddidi, a figure acceptable to all. The Islamic neighbours and the United States virtually deny military aid to this government now.

The UN plan is still completely rejected by three groups of Islamic fundamentalists led by Hekmatyar, Khalis and Sayyaf. They completely rule out the possibility of Kabul's participation in the negotiations, referring to its representatives only as "butchers of the Afghan people."

The intransigents threaten to kill former king Zahir Shah if he returns to Afghanistan. Their publicly declared aim remains the same – the overthrow of the Kabul regime by military means.

The UN representative Benon Sevan is increasingly inclined to the idea that the intransigents can be left out of the negotiations. After all, they do not represent the majority of the Afghan people. Thus, the extremists may miss the train. This would suit the Najibullah government, which counts on a reasonable representation in the future government of the country, and the moderate opposition, which has got tired of the 13-year war. This would also suit the West, which does not want to see the strengthening of Islamic fundamentalism in the region.

*Igor Kovalyev*

# The army at war with

**The "provisional" Irish Republican Army (IRA) has been fighting for 20 years to drive the British out of Ulster. During this time it has grown rich and almost invulnerable**

## In the British political calendar, bombs are a sign of forthcoming elections

A stepping up in IRA activity usually coincides with the beginning of general election campaign in Britain. This year is no exception. Several bombs have already exploded in London. The first bomb was set off at the London Bridge railway station on the morning of February 28. It injured 29 people, four of whom were seriously wounded. There would have been more victims if the train from Orpington had arrived at the Charing Cross station 15 seconds earlier and if a hospital were not situated near the tragedy.

Luckily, there were no victims in the second explosion set off on the morning of March 9. However, it dispelled hopes that the first one was an unrelated episode, not an IRA-planned action. It became clear that the IRA would try to gain maximum benefit from the election campaign, using the circumstance that the main contesting parties are running head to head. During this time the party leaders must be in the public eye as much as possible. It is not easy to do that when an IRA bullet or bomb may knock off one of the politicians taking part in a public debate, the more so as such precedents were set only a year ago. At that time the IRA switched over from impressive explosions in hotels, cars and offices and reckless firing on Downing Street to the mining of railway and underground stations.

People were killed and wounded. In addition, inconveniences were caused for hundreds of thousands of passengers and pedestrians. Trains were stopped for inspection and terrible jams were created in the streets.

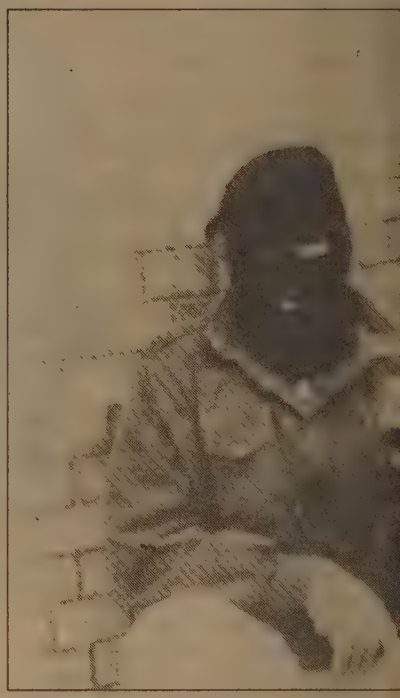
Losses from one planted but not exploded device amounted to millions of pounds. The IRA has chosen new tactics precisely for this reason. On the election day or before a meeting with one of the leaders someone can phone the Ulster television or the police, saying that the given building, railway station or train is to explode within several minutes. This creates panic, the evacuation of people begins, anti-terror teams turn up together with fire-brigades, ambulance cars and police. The planned event is postponed. An explosive device may not be found there. However, it is dangerous to assume that the IRA merely resorted to a ploy.

It seems that for the first time in many years, the election campaign, which has just started, will be accompanied by full-scale IRA actions. Very often the IRA makes warning calls. (I think it does so not for Christian considerations, but for fear of incurring general hatred). Such calls make the government and appropriate institutions hurriedly take measures for averting a tragedy. Normal city life is, naturally, upset.

The IRA's "warning system" can fail, as apparently happened on February 28, when a signal about the planned explosion was received by the Ulster television 14 minutes before the bomb went off. The man who phoned did not indicate the place and time of an explosion. The outcome is well known. No one can guarantee that such things will not happen in the future.

What are the terrorists trying to get?

The IRA is interested in Britain having a "weak parliament," in which no party will have a decisive majority, and hence, a "weak government," even a coalition one. A "weak government" will face sharp political problems (such as taking an attitude to a European monetary and political union), economic problems (the economic stagnation, tax policy, the poll-tax) and military problems (the question of Tridents, for instance). If problems in the fields of education and health service are added to them, the question of Northern Ireland may become a nuisance.



IRA militants

The IRA is responsible for killing over a thousand and wounding thousands of people. Its core consists of 500 men, and the number of its group members has nearly doubled in the last five years. Only a few names of IRA leaders are known. They are Gerry Adams and Martin McGuiness.

The purpose of terror is to make London give up its part in the affairs of Northern Ireland, enable the Catholics and Protestants to normalize their relations themselves, and finally, bring about a reunification of Ireland.

The IRA leaders are sure that the expenditure on the maintenance of troops in Northern Ireland, international pressure on London, and the people's fear of terror will sooner or later compel the British government to withdraw troops from Ulster.

# the United Kingdom

*Photo from the book Ballymurphy and the Irish War*

It should be remembered that the maintenance of troops and special services in Northern Ireland requires considerable expenditure. Millions of pounds are wasted during alarm signals, which cause irritation among city dwellers. In these circumstances a "weak parliament" discussing the budget can be threatened with a political crisis over the Irish problem. This may suggest a conclusion that Northern Ireland, as part of the United Kingdom, costs London dearly in financial and moral-psychological respects. The question of the expediency of keeping the region under the British Crown may therefore be raised, and this is what the IRA's radical elements are seeking.

This being the situation, both John Major, a Conservative, and Neil Kinnock, a Labour, promised to resume talks on the future of Northern Ireland right after the April 9 election to the parliament.

*Sergei Babusenko,*
*NT* correspondent

LONDON

## The IRA's sources of financing

The IRA acquires money in a way usual for terrorist groups, namely, by robbing banks and post offices. It needs a lot of money, because terror is an expensive occupation. Money is needed for the purchase of arms, the upkeep of secret flats, and the payment of gunmen. Early in January, IRA gunmen robbed a bank in the Irish Republic, taking 2.5 million Irish pounds with them. Several rich Americans of Irish descent are known to have made donations to the IRA's fund. In the past, the IRA received large sums from Libya. It was a sort of Qaddafi's reply to London's tough policy towards Libyan terrorism.

Apart from money, the IRA received arms and explosives from Qaddafi. In 1973, a ship carrying five tons of Libyan arms was intercepted near the shores of Ireland. The smuggling operation was led by Joe Cahill, one of the IRA's leaders. According to expert estimates, in the 1970s, Libya passed on one to two million pounds to the IRA. In the early 1980s Libya again opened its purse to "Irish brothers." One more ship with Libyan arms and explosives was intercepted near the French coast.

The IRA has a large stock of arms. It has no shortage of hand-arms, explosives and Soviet-made RPG-7 grenade launchers. The army maintained ties with two European terrorist groups – the Fatherland and Liberty in the Basque country, and the Revolutionary Cells in West Germany. A segment of the population in Germany, Holland and Belgium have sympathy for the organization.

By the early 1990s, the IRA created its financial empire. In the opinion of experts, the IRA's annual budget did not exceed a million pounds in the 1970s. In the current decade, it has "made" roughly six million pounds a year.

Apart form bank robbing, the IRA militants engage in racketeering, imposing levies on the owners of taxi-cabs, bars and building companies. Those who refuse to pay can expect an unpleasant surprise in the form of a bomb at the doorstep.

The IRA has its own financial experts who know refined methods of obtaining and laundering money, as well as lawyers who know how to avoid paying taxes. Its members are also engaged in quite legal businesses, running cafes, pubs and videotheques.

## Police suffer a set-back

The Irish Republic won independence in 1921. In Northern Ireland, which remained part of Great Britain, problems arose right away. The Catholic minority began to oppose discrimination on the part of the Protestant majority.

In the late 1960s, the struggle began to assume violent forms. In 1969, the Catholic resistance organization – the Irish Republican Army – broke into two wings. The official wing declared in 1972 that it renounced the violent methods adopted by the other wing – the provisional IRA.

Over the last 20 years, the British government has spent 584 million pounds on compensation to hotel owners and other businessmen alone for the damage caused by bomb explosions in Northern Ireland.

However, money is only the small price of terrorism.

From the very outset the IRA has set out to shed as much blood as possible. Its gunmen are trying most of all to kill servicemen of the British Army and Ulster administration officials. However, in most cases, absolutely innocent people, often children, become victims of terrorist actions.

In the early 1970s, the British police countered the IRA rather effectively by recruiting informants among its ranks. However, the reorganization of the IRA in 1977 complicated police activity.

The armed groups of the IRA were divided into cells not connected with one another. The militants of one cell did not know the members of another. Besides, the cells were set individual tasks – intelligence, the execution of death sentences passed by the IRA, the planting of explosives, and the robbing of banks. The members of armed groups do not take part in actions carried out in the part of town where they reside.

In 1982, the British police managed to recruit new informants in the IRA ranks and arrested a sizeable number of militants. However, an explosion in Brighton, to which Prime Minister Thatcher nearly fell victim, has shown that the IRA could not be curbed.

## Friends and assistants

In Belfast and Londonderry, there is the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA) – a small group of about 20 members. It is a militant organization of the Irish Republican Socialist Party founded by former members of the official IRA.

The INLA, which holds Marxist views, began a fierce struggle against the IRA. But then, leaving ideological differences aside, the two groups established cooperation with each other. It is believed that their representatives meet once a week to discuss joint actions.

The liberation army replenishes its funds by means of bank robbing, and can count on receiving small amounts of explosives from the French terrorist group, Action Directe. The most notorious action of the INLA is a bomb explosion in a night club in December 1982, in which 17 people were killed and 66 wounded.

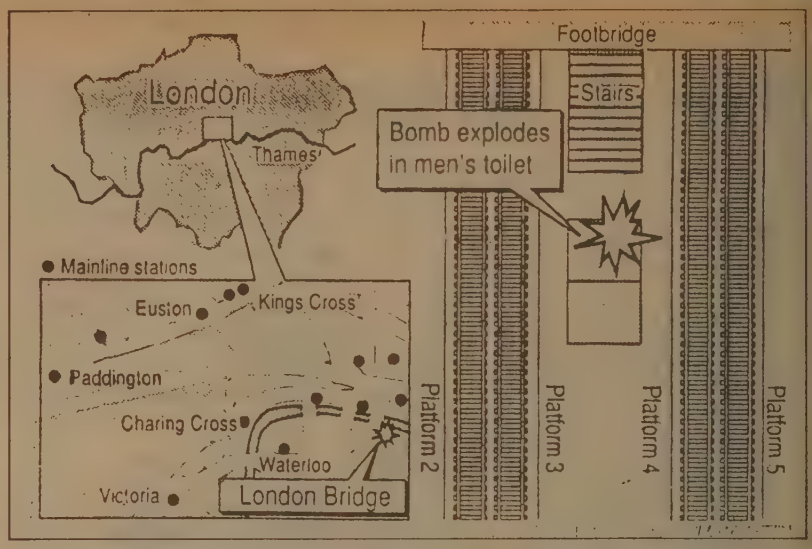
## Criminals or political prisoners?

The IRA has always been the most virulent enemy of the British government. For its part, London has waged a relentless struggle against terrorists. Tortures were used against captured militants and harsh sentences were passed on them without pity. For its brutal treatment of prisoners from Northern Ireland Britain was blacklisted by Amnesty International and other human rights organizations.

British policemen and special teams hunt after Irish terrorists and sometimes shoot at them. The Ulster police manhandle people suspected of cooperation with the IRA, while the government looks the other way when policemen "overdo it." This issue was raised by the European Court on Human Rights. British judges at times quickly pass sentences on people suspected of terrorism. After long protests and examination, the IRA members known as the Birmingham six and the Guildford four, who had been sentenced to imprisonment for many years, were finally set free.

The IRA's terror was virtually given justification in the former socialist countries. Campaigns of solidarity with the arrested and convicted IRA militants were held, as if they were prisoners of conscience.

In the spring of 1981, the convicted members of the IRA went on a hunger strike in the Long Kesh (Maze) prison. The entire world watched for news of their condition. Four prisoners, led by Robert Sands who was elected a member of parliament during the hunger strike, died as a result. Margaret Thatcher flatly refused to grant them the status of political prisoners and was severely criticized for such a decision.




**This map of London indicates places where bombs have been planted by Irish terrorists**

*Cartoon from The Guardian (Great Britain)*

### CHRONICLE OF TERROR

**1972, July** – 19 bombs were exploded in Belfast, nine people were killed and 130 wounded.
**1974, February** – a bomb planted in a British army bus killed 12 people.
**1975, November** – the editor of the world-famous Guinnes Book of Records was killed.
**1978, February** – a bomb planted in a Belfast restaurant killed 12 and wounded 30 people
**1979, August** – a bomb planted in the yacht of Earl Mountbatten, a member of the royal family and a veteran of the second world war, killed the lord himself and three other persons, and wounded three more.
**1980, February** – a British colonel, who served in West Germany, was killed.
**1981, November** – Rev. Robert Bradford, a member of the British parliament from Belfast, was killed.
**1982, July** – two bombs set off in the central part of London killed four soldiers and seven musicians.
**1983, December** – a bomb exploded in front of a London department store took the lives of five persons and wounded 80
**1985, February** – nine people were killed and 37 wounded during the shelling of Newry from a howitzer.
**1987, March** – a bomb detonated in an officers' club in West Germany wounded 27 Germans and four Britons.
**1989** – according to Amnesty International, IRA gunmen were responsible for the deaths of 54 people.
**1990** – 44 people were killed

One of the most brutal terrorist actions in recent times was the bomb explosion in a car in which repair workers were returning home from a military base in Northern Ireland; seven people were killed in the explosion.

# Will CSCE escape League of Nations lot?

The USSR's break-up and local conflicts have come as a shock to the Helsinki Conference. Created 17 years ago CSCE has become a giant, true, not with feet of clay but only with head, as it has nothing else. Indeed, as soon as the ministers and diplomats sought to concretize the wonderful principles drafted, the mood muddied as much as the tidal waters in Helsinki's harbour.

Nagorny Karabakh was mentioned so often, that the audience seemed aware they were disclosing a skeleton from the family closet. Though representatives from Armenia, Azerbaijan and Russia discussed matters rather energetically with others as they threaded their way around the Congress Centre Marina they failed to put before colleagues from the current 51 member countries anything new, capable of getting CSCE to play that long expected role in resolving the growing conflict.

It was suggested that Czecho-Slovakia's Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier, who currently chairs CSCE, arbitrate. On NATO initiative and with the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and EC approving he is to go to Stepanakert which, sad to say, he did not do before the current Helsinki meeting. One can understand the reason for the tardinesss, as this mission will scarcely add any laurels. On the other hand, Jiri Dienstbier has announced plans for an international conference on Nagorny Karabakh in Minsk. True, the date and level have not been determined as yet, though the eleven states of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Czecho-Slovakia, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Sweden, Turkey and the USA have already been invited. One wonders, recalling the sorry outcome of the Moscow conference on the Middle East, whether it will be of any use at all.

Amongst associates, Andrei Kozyrev was hardly able to conceal his disappointment over this which he thinks "will be one more way to evade direct action to end the bloodshed." However, the European ministers think it "useful" hoping that the said conference will serve as a backdrop for displaying anxiety before TV cameras. When I asked Armenian Foreign Minister Raffi Hovannisyan what he expected of the Minsk conference he evasively shrugged that it could take place only in "a couple of months' time" as "thorough preparations" had to be made. Didn't Bismarck once note that the good intentions of the politicians were often drowned in seas of ink?

At stake is whether the Karabakhans themselves will attend. CSCE told its chairman to invite "elected and other representatives of Nagorny Karabakh ... as interested parties ... after consultations with the states at the conference." For some reason they have forgotten that Baku and Yerevan do not see eye to eye. One feels that far from all CSCE members see the tragedy as a frightful nightmare that needs to be urgently resolved by collective effective action. No wonder, alluding to UN representative Cyrus Vance, who had been to Stapankert, three (save the mark!) Western ambassadors at once tried at the sole reception to "console" me saying that, "the war there is not a full-scale event as in Yugoslavia."

Small wonder that Jiri Dienstbier will visit Karabakh only a week if not more after the current CSCE meeting ends. What we observe is a repetition of the "Yugoslav game," with CSCE steering clear of taking "direct action." The freedom to operate in the Balkans that was tacitly granted first to EC and then the UN shows that CSCE has no leverage for translating into reality the theoretically impeccable principles of European security and rights for national minorities.

Privately some VIPs in Helsinki objected to the "depreciation of CSCE dignity." Their logic is gravely at fault, as the impotence already shows CSCE to be but a half-hearted thing. There are apprehension-causing moves in Marina Congress Centre. To believe Raffi Hovannisian, James Baker who failed to attend the current meeting presumably encourages Turkish mediation in arranging for a tripartite conference – of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Nagorny Karabakh – even before the Minsk meeting.

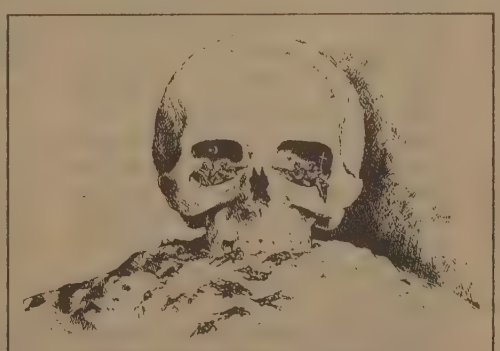
Meanwhile, the CSCE Foreign Ministers have urged, not themselves but "all concerned parties," to ensure humanitarian assistance to all in need in Karabakh "through rapid and effective means including safe corridors under international control." Who else besides NATO and CIS armymen could execute such operations, moreover most likely under fire? Only paratroops, airforce transport, and logistic services can lift in food and medicines. Thus far though, the politicians have not told them to do so; they are afraid to shoulder the responsibility for the potential success, or rather, failure of the military as that would dirty the white shirt fronts of the premiers and presidents and undermine CSCE's reputation. Indeed, Jiri Dienstbier believes it would be "wrong to link future CSCE peace-keeping operations with the outcome of the Nagorny Karabakh mission."

Though one can easily fathom Dienstbier's doubts and the indecisiveness of his colleagues, surely one must feel compassion for all who may die tomorrow in Karabakh, Croatia, Georgia or Slovenia. Whereas Karabakh is at least being discussed, the other three flashpoints are mentioned only in connection with the congratulations tendered upon their entry into CSCE. The Dniester bloodshed is also ignored, now that Moldova, Russia, Romania and Ukraine have come out with a quadripartite declaration, though the document is nothing but wishful thinking and is not worth the paper it is recorded on.

How will CSCE react to the sad likelihood of more flashpoints in the new states admitted to the European family? One thinks that as has occurred with respect to Karabakh, it will need NATO's "divine hand" to chart, let alone take, "direct actions." It is quite possible that matters will go no further than another Dniester-type declaration.

If CSCE fails to operate effective machinery for implementating its political commitments before the July summit, it will come a cropper. Either it must evolve ways and means of coordinating action with NATO and EC that ensure stability in Europe, or the Helsinki summit will see it degenerate into a second League of Nations, whose impotence and helplessness opened the door to war.

*Alexander Polyukhov,*
*NT* correspondent
HELSINKI



Karabakh

*Drawing from Die Welt (Germany)*

# Booby trap

**While healing the wounds of aggression inflicted by the northern "fraternal" nation, Kuwait has to brace itself for repelling a possible repeated military attack: Saddam Hussein continues to regard Kuwait an Iraqi province**

Hotel International, at which participants in the summit of the Council for Cooperation of Arab States of the Persian Gulf stayed, reminded one a fortress under siege, with barbed-wire fences and high-caliber machine guns pointing north-east, to the Gulf. All arriving cars go through three independent checkpoints. Each time, the cars are looked at from underneath with the help of special mirrors with lighting. The engine, the trunk, and the space under the seats are all inspected. Inside the hotel, the search is also triple: passing through an electronic gate, by a hand detector, and a common search.

The soldiers felt uneasy and voiced excuses to highly-respected guests, about why they can't simply be trusted. The latter showed understanding and sympathy with the soldiers. After all, in the Arab world there are many people now who would like to play havoc with Kuwait, envying the country's prosperity.

Says security officer Abdul al-Mohsen, "People from different countries, including the Arab ones, have jobs here. Naturally enough, we have Iraqis whose relatives live in Iraq. Saddam Hussein spared neither money not effort to create a world-wide spy network. We didn't concern ourselves with that matter in the past. We just lived in peace and let it be. Shortly before the Iraqi aggression, Kuwait experienced an exceptional migration and influx of visitors from the north. We were paid frequent visits by all kinds of official delegations whom we showed everywhere around the country, because we had been brought up on ideas of Arab brotherhood.

## Totalitarianism: warping human morals

On the day of my departure from Al-Kuwait, a powerful twin explosion reverberated throughout the city. A column of smoke rose high into the sky. Surprisingly, no one paid particular attention: people got used to such things: over one and a half thousand men and women died in explosions of mines left by the Iraqi "brothers". Soldiers with mine-detectors were sweeping the beaches ever farther out. Once I threw open the hood of a badly damaged and abandoned car I came across on the beach: the engine was quite new and seemingly intact. My guide and chauffeur grew white in the face: "I advise you not to do that again, Dmitry. There's much talk about booby traps all around," he warned me.

Fleeing the country, Iraqis left lots of mines, including booby traps which are known to be aimed primarily against civilians, especially children. I was told that about five and a half thousands of such exploding devices had been spotted and made harmless in the capital alone.

Everyone in Al-Kuwait has something to tell about the behaviour of the occupiers who plundered the city's stores and supermarkets and stole 3,216 golden bars, 13 kilogrammes each. The Iraqis even took away the animals from the Zoo. An Al-Kuwait resident acted quickly and hid a brown bear in his own house. After the country's liberation, the bear was returned to the Zoo and became its first inhabitant.

The aggressors tried to turn Kuwait into a country built in the Iraqi fashion. Soon after the capture of Kuwait, Saddam Hussein ordered torture chambers (often converted from stores) opened throughout the country. They were fitted with the most bizarre equipment, from modern electric drills to ancient thumb-screws. However, there were no concentration camps in Kuwait, unlike in Iraq: Kuwaitis were usually dealt with quickly after tortures, they were invariably executed.

I acted as an interpreter for the Kazakh television which interviewed Al-Kuwaitis. One woman told the TV: "My husband died under torture, on one of the first days of occupation. He was a serviceman."

Here's what Editor-in-Chief of the *Al-Fajr al-Jadid* newspaper Al-Yasin told me:

"It is hard to relate adequately our misery caused by awareness of our helplessness in the face of the vastly powerful evil, and the extent of our humiliation. This feeling would have been more understandable if they were foreigners. But a vision of brother-Arabs – who share one creed with us – changed into turncoats, is really awful and frightening. One of the first days of the occupation, I witnessed the following scene, in the centre of the city. An Iraqi soldier approached an elderly man who was accompanied by his daughter of about 17, saying: 'I want her.' Then he grabbed her by the hand and pulled her away from the father. The latter cried out in despair: 'Such a thing to say when the girl's father is still alive! First you should ask her if she wants you, if you want to marry her as a Moslem!' To this, the soldier put the muzzle of his submachine gun to the stomach of the elderly man and retorted: 'I can do without it.' The poor girl was in hysterics."

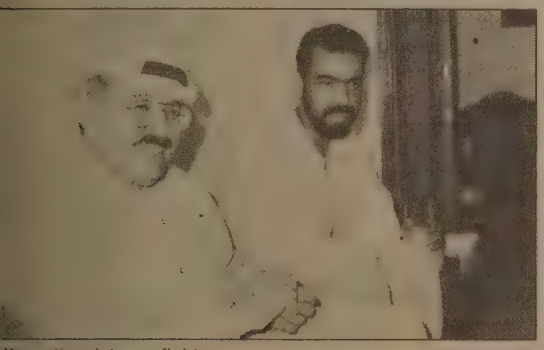
These mines are no longer dangerous

"My wife is American," Al-Yasin went

on. "Iraqis launched a regular hunt for Americans and other Westerners, with general searches of districts and with on-the-spot executions. I managed to hide my wife away. A German asked for refuge at my home. I hid him in a drinking-water cistern on the roof. The cistern had to be drained first, of course. The man spent two weeks inside the hot cistern which served him as a place to sleep, to eat, as well as a toilet. Later, I hid another three foreigners in such cisterns."

## Underground fighters

When a giant and armed to the teeth aggressor army moved into Kuwait from the north, the command of the 20,000-strong Kuwaiti armed forces decided to abstain from fighting for the sake of sparing the soldiers' lives. It was evident that any resistance the Kuwaiti army could put up before its complete elimination would be no more than token. Some servicemen put on civilian clothes and got lost in the civilian crowd. Dissolving itself, the army were giving away guns to anyone who cared to take and use them. Later there came reports about underground resistance being mounted by guerrilla groups in Kuwait.



Kuwaiti resistance fighters

I was introduced to two young men told to be resistance fighters. One was an army serviceman, the other was from the editorial staff of the *Sawt al-Kuwait* newspaper. I tried to make them give me an account of their actions against the aggressor. But the two only shrugged their shoulders, smiled shyly and replied in terse phrases which didn't reveal much:

"Well, we bombed trucks carrying soldiers, there were instances of fire exchange. Few of us had previous experience with guns. We gained the experience in action."

I had more luck on the following day: I met an army officer Abdel Rahim Mohammed al-Fakhru, who readily described, for my sake, how the underground fought the occupants.

The country remained stunned by the aggression for a few days, before the paralysis wore off the younger generation sized up the situation and began to pack in small guerrilla groups. The latter eventually acquired a secret coordinator. Radio Kuwait transmitting from Saudi Arabia was an important morale booster. It broadcast an appeal from Kuwait's emir Jaber al-Ahmed al Jaber al Sabah to his nation. Abdel Rahim himself organized, 15 days after the start of the Iraqi aggression, an armed guerilla detachment with other Kuwaitis, as well as several Egyptians and people from Lebanon.

The group had its own intelligence and reconnaissance, and incorporated several isolated subgroups, none of which had any information about the rest. The young men and women immediately embarked on action. They set up production of inflammatory mixture bottles and explosive devices. Later they began raiding the Iraqi munition depots. They took weapons from the killed Iraqi soldiers. Hamdi Abu Zeid from the group blew up a truck full of Iraqis. He managed to avoid an arrest until he got caught in a general search and an inspection of his bag revealed a live round of ammunition. That was enough for the Iraqis to subject him to savage torture.

Khaled Yusef Abu Ghith set up clandestine groups in virtually every district of the city and participated in particularly daring operatiuons. Together with Ilyas from Lebanon, who was an expert on explosives, Khaled dynamited several Iraqi military vehicles. His men were also manufacturing and leaving about booby traps. As a result, TV sets, videos, and other attractive gadgets suddenly exploded in the face of Iraqi looting soldiers, killing many of them. Khaled led a squad who snatched the emir's armourplated car (which later ensured their safe flight after a raid of a weapons depot).

"Unfortunately, Khaled had bad luck," says Abdel Rahim. "During an attack on a transformer station, he and two other men walked into an ambush. Khaled was wounded in the leg. I managed to have him admitted to a hospital where a doctor who knew me well certified the bullet wound as a bone fracture sustained in a routine accident. He put the leg in plaster and left the wound to heal. Eventually, Iraqis succeeded in tracking Khaled down to the hospital. They took him away, broke the plaster cast and threw him in jail. Our group quickly designed a plan for his release. An Egyptian woman, the resistance movement activist, volunteered to help. She lured two Iraqi officers to her place, promising them a rendezvous with girls. Kuwait has never had brothels or known any other forms of prostitution. We rightly counted on loose morals of the Iraqi servicemen. The officers brought by the woman to her apartment were quickly overpowered and disarmed. We issued an ultimatum to the occupants: to release Khaled or have the two officers killed. The prisoners were safely exchanged. My niece, member of another clandestine group, arranged bombing of the hotel Hilton where the Iraqi military converged for a meeting. Four Iraqis were killed and another 70 wounded. They lost 85 men and officers as killed or wounded in another bomb attack.

"When the anti-Iraqi coalition forces started the liberation of Kuwait, people were weeping from joy and embracing each other in the streets. By that time, our groups were a considerable armed force maintaining contacts with anti-Saddam resistance in Baghdad and Basra. Our group dashed to the girls' school (the February 25 School) which the occupants had turned into a torture centre. The Iraqis fled leaving the school empty but for six decapitated female corpses. They had to be buried unidentified. Now the horror is over, thank God, and here they are, our heroes, safe and sound," he concluded his story, pointing towards Hamdi Abu Zeid (the modest-looking journalist from *Sawt al-Kuwait,* and to the bashful officer who was too shy to tell about his own heroic deeds. The man was the Khaled from our story!

* * *

How could this transformation inside the Iraqis happen? Some time before the occupation of Kuwait, I visited Iraq, and my impression was that the Iraqis, including their president, were devoted Moslems. Moreover, they regarded themselves as brothers of all other Arabs, including Kuwaitis. Apart from the capture of a brother country it is the matter of a complete loss of human morals and a metamorphosis from God-loving Moslems into looters, rapists, and sadists, which is baffling. Kuwaitis told me: Iraqi soldiers can't be believers in God, they must be worshippers of the Devil instead, because of what they have done.

Perhaps, this is right, if the devil in question is totalitarianism.

*Dmitry Zgersky,*
*NT* special correspondent

AL-KUWAIT–MOSCOW

# Criticizing China

*Vyacheslav Bakhmin*

Tiananmen Square. Whom should Russia appeal to in its foreign policy – to China's democrats

Human rights are very much in the limelight nowadays, with everyone giving mention. True, some who a mere ten years ago ordered the confiscation of copies of the Declaration of Human Rights, and others invariably said "the so-called human rights," but some strove for the implementation of these rights.

Yet there is not much ground for optimism as the situation has but little changed and for long we shall be obliged to seek respect for the human individual. Crowds continue to besiege government institutions and the stream of complaints and grievances pouring into Moscow does not abate. Yet we are happy that human rights will not be overlooked now, they will indeed serve as political priorities for us at home and abroad.

Meeting in Moscow the CSCE Conference declared that concern for human rights in any country could not be construed as interference in its internal affairs. The international com munity is devising increasingly effective mechanisms for control and supervision in the humanitarian sphere, while countries viciously violating human rights find themselves increasingly shunned. At this juncture Russia's attitude is of universal interest. In foreign policy this stand was first detailed and put to effect at the recent 48th session in Geneva of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights.

Russia's delegation there was led by Sergei Kovalyov, Chairman of the Russian Parliamentary Human Rights Committee. As his deputy I had my first opportunity of taking part in the U.N. Commission's work. As far as Russia's approach is concerned, it may briefly be set out as follows.

We take critical stock of the situation at home, where violation of the individual's rights is still systematic. We are trying to change this and ask the international community for support. More specifically, we would be grateful for criticism as useful for entrenching the changes in our country. Subscribing to the conviction that the defence everywhere of human rights is not intervention into a country's domestic affairs, we believe we may air our views with regard to human rights in any country, irrespective of our relations with it. Here we will proceed exclusively from authentic information and the actually existing state of affairs, which implies a complete rejection of any double standard.

Though this approach would appear quite natural one to which it would be difficult to object, at Geneva it appears somewhat unusual.

On the whole, response was well intentioned, even though there was some scepticism. Some delegations were prepared to furnish immediate criticism and thus contribute to building a democratic society in Russia. They enthusiastically observed: "Just tell us what we have to do and we'll do it." Other delegations cautiously sought to inquire what we thought about the violation of human rights in their own countries and anticipated the usual back-up.

Naturally, this attitude evoked a particularly painful reaction from countries where violation of human rights is systematic and upon whom this attitude directly or indirectly bore. Oddly enough, nearly all are the Soviet Union's old friends. Some even reproached us of betraying them. There is no question that

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or to its conservatives?

we will never be able, as Sergei Kovalyov put it, to shirk "our historical responsibility for the situation in these countries" which so much copied us, at times with our direct connivance. Then it would be quite appropriate to clear up our own problems, a point we mentioned time and again at the Geneva session. However, to keep silent would mean forgetting that in some countries people are harassed solely for attempting to implement the rights about which the members of this self-same U.N. Commission so loudly talk, indeed forgetting the very purpose of its work. One would think it would be more appropriate to speak of betrayal in this context.

In short, Russia's attitude was formulated and the time had come to apply it to certain countries. Whereas in respect of Cuba all were prepared to accept our support for the corresponding resolution, the more so after the recent Russian Parliamentary hearings, where so much was said about the obtaining situation, the position as regards our great neighbour, with whom we share so long a common border, is not that clear-cut. Here you have a geopolitical factor, China's particularly sensitive response to criticism from outside, which incidentally is a most eloquent point, our own special interests in the Pacific, etc.

Note that China undertook serious diplomatic efforts to prevent the Commission from adopting a resolution condemning human rights violations in Tibet. In our day and age, when the world is covered with telecommunication and human rights organizations and wire services are so active, it is hard to hide from the world public how human rights are violated in one or another country, whose governments may pretend that nothing of the sort is taking place there and who demonstrate high-minded indignation. Still all this is done in the commission where it has assumed the character of a ritual.

Inasmuch as Soviet representatives conducted themselves thus quite recently, we were well familiar with the Chinese argument. It was said that there was a need to take a broader approach to human rights problems than is accepted in the Western world, that there were other traditions and values differing from those in Western Europe, that socialism had scored successes, and that all nations had flourished after the victory of the revolution, and, finally, that it was impermissible to interfere in internal affairs. Much was fair, but after all said and done the U.N. had adopted the universal Declaration on Human Rights, which means that it applies to every country. Further in the Commission China never lets the opportunity slip to indict Israel, South Africa, the USA and other countries for "vicious violations" of human rights. What should the UN Commission do if not show concern for the individual in every country, the more so if his rights are so grossly violated there. All this seems so obvious but it is not that simple for them to apply these principles to their own countries.

Some politicians in Russia and in the West, believe an approach unaffected by a double standard, overly naive. Though principles, they aver, are a good thing, there is also such a thing as *realpolitik* and wherever "Russia's interests" are at stake, one may forego the loudly declared principles, the more so as all do so in practice. One such politician sought to convince me that we must amend our principles with an eye to Russia's interests. "It is in our interests," he said, "not to spoil relations with China, the more so as its conservatives seek to set our countries at loggerheads." But are not there others who once demonstrated in Tiananmen Square and for whom Russia's attitude is also vitally important?

Though such arguments are very serious, the question is as to where Russia's real interests lie, who qualifies such interests, and whether such interests would be served whatever the means used. Over the past 70 years our politicians also touted the country's interests. Indeed, only recently, already in the times of the "new thinking" to serve the country's interests and not spoil relations with Romania, Gorbachev went there and embraced Ceausescu. I do not think that embrace did our relations with Romania a good service, as what might seem profitable today may be shamefully embarrassing tomorrow.

I fear that in politics as in relations between human beings it is hard to dispense with certain moral principles. After all, in his day-to-day life the individual also has his own interests at heart and is pragmatic. But if he seeks respect and if he thinks himself a decent person, he must not violate certain moral commandments. In politics human rights and general human values may serve as such moral commandments. Such is the moral motivation for politics in any country without which "national interests" alone may pull it off the civilized path along which the human race seeks to advance. Indeed, what could serve as a firmer foundation for relations than human rights and human values?

It is not easy to implement that kind of policy. Similarly is it not easy to be an honest person. But only that sort of policy really serves national interests and has a future. We should not fear a painful response from some countries which so greatly smacks of blackmail. To succumb to it is irrational, as then not a shred would be left of independence. However, politics is still viewed as a dirty business and justly so. Again as always one or another card is played, but at the table we have not honest players but card sharpers.

We now have the chance to play an honest game and we will see that that will be to everyone's advantage.

The resolution on China did not get through the U.N. Commission. At Pakistan's motion the majority blocked its passage in the procedural stage. Russia voted against.

A demonstration of Slovak nationalists

*Photo from Newsweek (USA)*

# "There'll be no firing at our crossroads"

## A real economic and policy crisis lies ahead

*Jan Urban*

"Czecho-Slovakia is at an historical crossroad." During the two-odd years since the communist regime was abolished in the country this expression, much favoured by politicians and journalists, has become a cliché. Many use the newly invented image as irresponsibly as their predecessors used slogans about the leading role of party and the inviolable friendship of peoples. As a matter of fact, we are only approaching the crossroad. A real economic and policy crisis lies ahead. It will not be something anomalous from the global point of view. However, the country, taken unawares, could be in store for a shock.

### Privatization through coupons

In the last two years a great deal has been done in de-communizing the economic and political system of Czecho-Slovakia. The people have got accustomed to changes and, as a result, a confused feeling prevails in the country. Some want changes to go faster. Others are tired of them or disappointed about the slow rate of the process.

Tens of thousands of shops, houses and factories have been returned to the families of their original owners or sold by auction. As a result, the property and social ties as well as the look of towns and villages are changing. Private owners seek to use the ground floor of every house for a shop or office. The streets, dingy in the past, are now clean and shop windows shine brightly in them.

Unprecedented attempts are being made these days to privatize virtually all state-owned enterprises by selling their shares to the population. The number of people who took part in privatization through coupons and laid aside about a third of their monthly wages for the purchase of these coupons exceeded all expectations. After two months of an unsuccessful advertising campaign the public suddenly believed rumours and appeals, often fraudulent, by privately-run and banking privatization funds. Only recently people queued up to buy sugar, flour or gasoline, and now they stood for hours in line to register their coupons. Eight and a half of roughly eleven million adult citizens of Czecho-Slovakia believed in this daring experiment.

By pursuing a tough restrictive policy the government was able to curb inflation and provide an abundance of goods in shops. Nevertheless, prices knock large holes in the family budgets of socially unprotected sections of the population. Moreover, a drastic rise in family expenditure, connected with higher rent, in particular, is to be expected yet. Unemployment is growing slowly so far. It is considerably higher in Slovakia, where 15 percent of able-bodied people are without work in some regions. We certainly want to restructure the economy faster and to create new jobs. But this is impossible without the injection of capital. Czecho-Slovakia does not have capital, and foreign companies are not in a hurry to make investment.

On the whole, government economists display guarded optimism. They expected these and other difficulties.

## Controversy over the truth about the past

In Czecho-Slovakia, as in other post-communist states, it becomes evident that market-oriented reforms have not yet shaken the economic power of the former communist management. This arouses increasing discontent and the desire to settle accounts with the past and its real or imaginary representatives. After a long expectation and very emotional debates the federal parliament adopted a law which forbids former Communist Party officials, state security employees and their informants and members of people's militia to hold high posts in government bodies, the army, the security service, education and state-owned enterprises within the next five years. The law runs counter to the presumption of innocence. Under it a person can be fired only because he is on the black list, for no one checks whether he personally did anything bad.

A kind of politicized substitute for the truth about the past has arisen. At the same time, for some unknown reasons the state does not consider it necessary to make the truth public. Since the November coup only ten former state security officers have been brought to trial. Courts have not examined at all dozens of accounts of documented criminal activity. The archives of the state security service remain secret and the Federal Ministry of the Interior, though purged, acts as secretly and undemocratically with regard to human rights as its predecessor did.

The state pretends to be the sole owner of the voluminous and complicated book about the past, opening only the pages advantageous to it and tending to use the past to its political ends. A parliamentary election is to be held in Czecho-Slovakia next June, and it can be expected that this problem will be one of the most debatable in the election campaign.

## Czechia and Slovakia?

There is a problem which grows more complex with every passing day. It is the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks in one state. Elementary mistakes are made in talks between the two republics only because this problem was not noticed in the past, especially by the Czech side, and allegedly did not exist.

It was originally supposed that the problem would be solved within two years after the first post-revolutionary elections in June 1990. The parliament was then set the aim of drafting a new constitution. No one could foresee with what zeal representatives of the republics would conduct a war of words.

The debate was started by the Czech and Slovak premiers, Pithart and Meciar, who held semi-official talks in the summer of 1990 without having the mandates of their governments. What looked first as an addition to talks between the legislative bodies developed in a series of 15-odd complex meetings between government representatives of the two republics, the national and federal parliaments, and a number of futile attempts at mediation by President Havel.

Far from bringing positive results, these efforts blocked the legislative work of the parliament. It is one more convincing example of the importance of drawing a clear line between legislative and executive power. However, this is only a poor consolation.

The Slovak government resigned, and Vladimir Meciar was replaced in the post of premier by Jan Čarnogursky. After that Meciar led a nationalist bloc which secured advantageous initial positions for the June election and even has chances of winning it. Meciar's popularity was not diminished by reports that he allegedly cooperated with the state security service and used for his own purposes the post of Slovakia's Minister of the Interior to which he was appointed right after the revolution. From this point of view the Slovak political scene considerably differs from the Czech one. In Prague, a cabinet minister would immediately lose his post if the slightest suspicion was cast on him.

## The question remains open

Time goes by. But the discussion on the future of the federation remains deadlocked. Czech officials do not understand that the federation cannot function successfully until Slovakia feels itself an equal member. It is indeed a matter of feeling, not reason or the real state of affairs. The Czech delegation, inclined to

# Democracy defended by undemocratic means

### The arrest of the editor of an opposition newspaper did not enhance the prestige of authorities

These days I often recall a brief exchange of remarks between Mikhail Gorbachev and Andrei Sakharov. Replying to Sakharov's criticism of the Law on Meetings, Gorbachev said: "Democracy must defend itself." "Even by undemocratic methods?" the academician snapped.

Several years have passed since then. Nevertheless, attempts to defend democracy by undemocratic means continue and have even increased. And not only in the former Soviet Union.

Czecho-Slovak newspapers reported a few days ago that Zdenek Porybny, chief editor of the newspaper *Rude Pravo* had been arrested. He is charged with "swindling and dishonest competition" on the grounds that the privately-owned joint-stock company which now publishes *Rude Pravo*, former newspaper of the Communist Party, has caused damage estimated at 24 million korunas to its rival, a state-owned publishing house.

The *Rude Pravo* staff, who sent a protest to the International Federation of Journalists, described the charge as a political, not criminal, case, as punishment for the newspaper's opposition to the authorities. The court will decide who is guilty. However, observers reflecting all shades of opinion believe that the very procedure of the arrest was obviously undemocratic.

Though the charge was brought against Zdenek Porybny long ago, he was arrested now, when the election campaign got under way. Policemen took him away early in the morning. "A strange coincidence," a former dissident told me with irony. "We were also arrested at this time." The editor-in-chief was urgently brought to the Ruzyne prison in handcuffs, though under law handcuffs are put only on especially dangerous criminals who can run away or attack the guards.

The de-communization of society is certainly one of the elements for building democracy. However, it does not mean the suppression of people who were Communists in the past or still call themselves Communists. Shortly before Zdenek Porybny was arrested, an attack was un-

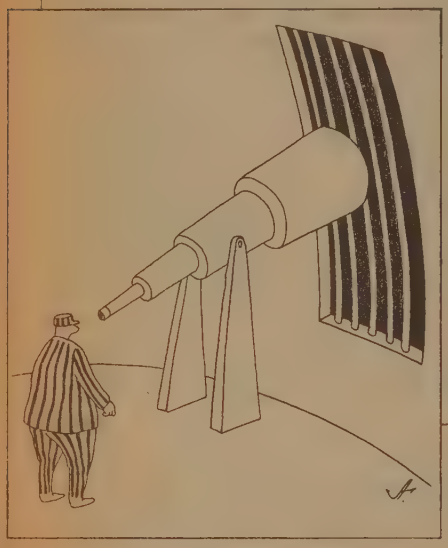
rationalism, is unable to understand this. On the other hand, the Slovak delegation does not seem to realize that an independent Slovak state would not be functional. The national minorities comprising 20 percent of its population would certainly feel that they do not enjoy equal rights either.

The Slovak officials cannot agree with the extremely "economic" stand of the Czech delegation and the delegation of the Federal Assembly, which insist on a united economic system of Czecho-Slovakia. As a result, deputies from most political parties of Slovakia virtually blocked the adoption of a new constitution by the Federal Assembly. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to lay the blame on them only. Unfortunately, no political force or personality has made a positive contribution to coexistence between the two nations. All those who oppose the division of the state, the President included, point to the adverse consequences of such an action. No one has yet underlined the positive aspect of the existence of a supranational state in Central Europe.

Thus, the Czecho-Slovak question remains open, and in the next few months we shall most likely witness a gradual weakening of the state union. It will be a serious test for politicians who obviously lack statecraft and are not aware of their international responsibility. It will be a test of the dignity and patience of the post-communist society which, unfortunately, had only totalitarian experience. Only then shall we reach a real historical crossroads.

Everyone agrees there will be no firing at our crossroads. During the millennium of their life as neighbours the Czechs and Slovaks have never fought against each other. In spite of the difference of opinions Czech and Slovak politicians talk only about negotiations. Ordinary people are rather inclined to joke: "All of us are too lazy to fire. We have plenty of other work to do, and then we'll have no time to watch a soccer match. Besides, we can meet someone on the way." Traditionally, Czechs and Slovaks have not had a high opinion of armed people, the military in general.

Thus, there will be no shooting between the Czechs and Slovaks. In the present-day world that's not something to take for granted. ■



*Drawing by Arkady Gursky*

dertaken against Zdenek Mlynar. One of the leaders of the "Prague Spring" who, during the so-called normalization, lived in exile for 20 years, was charged by one of the newspapers with high treason. This reminds me of the less ominous but equally irresponsible charges which are being often brought against Soviet liberal intelligentsia of the 1960s.

The dispute between representatives of social thought belonging to different generations is possible and probably even necessary. But, as clever people assert, the style of the dispute is important too. One of such clever men, Adam Michnik, who can hardly be suspected of sympathy with communism, said recently: "I had a terrible dream. All Communists have been driven out of the country. Waking up in cold sweat I saw the same communism, but without Communists. God forbid, we shall live till the time when we shall have to defend them." Judging by the remark of Jan Langos, Federal Minister of the Interior, we shall probably live till this time. During a weekly television programme he said: "Personally, I would be glad if the Communist Party were banned and all left newspapers closed in 1990." A striking frankness! Indignation was expressed even by newspapers which cannot be reckoned as left, for it appears the government needs only the press which praises it.

The similarity of what is taking place in Czecho-Slovakia and our country is surprising at times. At approximately the same time newspapers reported that a journalist was dismissed at *Radio Russiyi* for "tactless behaviour on the air and statements likely to offend leading figures in the fields of culture and policy." What about the law in which, after long debates, the word *glasnost* was at last replaced by words "freedom of the press"? A little later I received another piece of news from Moscow. Having studied the draft law on museums, the usually quiet museum workers revolted. It turned out that a museum can be shut down by authorities "for the participation of its staff employees in political actions."

What then is a difference between "gentlemen" and "comrades"? Those who have only totalitarian experience will certainly find it difficult to master Sakharov's understanding of democracy. Let's wait and think quietly. We shall not raise obstacles for our authorities on every occasion. But, protecting them, we shall not shut our eyes to obviously undemocratic methods by which they often try to defend democracy. I shall repeat a common truth: undemocratic methods weaken, not strengthen, our authorities. This can be clearly seen from a fall in the rating of personalities undeniably popular only yesterday. Economic factors are not the only reason for waning popularity.

"Don't awaken an orthodox in me." It is the exclamation not of an orthodox but of a man who sees that quite orthodox methods are used in the struggle against orthodoxes. Some people have become orthodox as a result of such methods. In the demonstrations held in Moscow on February 23 and March 17 I saw many young – and not angry – faces under red banners.

The editor-in-chief of *Rude Pravo* was released three days later on bail, after the sum of half a million korunas had been paid. In the photograph, which shows Porybny leaving prison, the document on his release covers his face. Porybny himself is in the car. It is not an expressive picture, and it will attract little attention. But the photograph showing the arrest of Porybny is quite good for an election poster – handcuffed arms raised high and a broad smile on the editor's face. The editor-in-chief of *Rude Pravo* smiled because he understood that these shackles would not add popularity to his political opponents.

*Inna Rudenko,*
*New Times* correspondent
PRAGUE

# Put down zero, carry what?

## Nuclear arms reduction is a costlier and more dangerous affair than their possession

*Gennady Novikov,*
Candidate of Sciences (Technology), Head of the Safety-Improvement Laboratory at the Russian Ministry of Atomic Energy

A world free of nuclear weapons, and any weapons ideally, belongs to the enticing ideas of humankind's radiant future which prove to e no more real than a pipe dream.

In fact, the world will always have at least on-military weapons and implements hich can be turned into tools of aggreson: like high explosives routinely used to agment rock, or guns fired to disperse ail-bringing clouds, or commercial lasers.

Soviet and later Russia's leaders anounced several cuts in the country's nuclar arsenal. However, to reduce it may ove almost as costly as to increase.

According to the press, the USSR had ),000 nuclear charges. Recently I came across a figure of 35,000. Mikhail Gorbachev ggested to reduce this arsenal to the level 5,000 warheads. Boris Yeltsin went even rther and announced reduction of the offnsive weapons to the level of 2,000-2,500 nuclear charges. Let's see how feasible this is.

First of all, let's look into the matter of the country's industrial capacity for dismantling nuclear weapons. No official data about it has been published, yet it isn't impossible to make your own calculations. If the nuclear inventory lists 30,000 items with a service life of 10-15 years each, then 2,000-3,000 nuclear charges have to be decommissioned and dismantled each year. The same number of charges is to be produced for a replacement. The industry can handle this task.

It would take us at least six years to disassemble 30,000 nuclear charges at a rate of 5,000 pieces a year. And we are going to face new problems here too: for example, if 2,500 nuclear charges are to be disassembled annually and the same number of new ones are to be produced, this will mean that only some of the components and materials are to be scrapped, and some others (primarily the fissionable materials like uranium and plutonium) are to be recycled and reused in new charges.

If the number of the disassembled charges doubles and the number of the newly produced ones dwindles almost to naught, the quantity of components to be destroyed doubles as well. This means that the fissionable materials will become unwanted for reuse. This, in turn, creates the problem of reusing the materials, including the biologically dangerous radioactive plutonium. The task of destruction and recirculation will require a whole new industry.

Transportation of 5,000 pieces of nuclear weapons from bases to industrial plants annually poses another problem. It will require 100 trains (each carrying about 50 nuclear charges) a year. Each train will travel 3-5 days. This means that for several years there will be a number of nuclear-carrying trains travelling daily along this country's railways. This possibility is rather discomforting, considering the rate of railway accidents.

Hurried withdrawal of nukes from bases around the CIS to Russia also involves certain risk. Russia's traditional "powder kegs" will become overcrowded with nukes, increasing potential threat to the environment, particularly considering that Russia's bases are in dire need of reconstruction.

But any ill-considered political decisions can be avoided if we embark on cooperation with foreign (primarily US) experts, for which we are already prepared. Russia can follow the US suit and announce stepping up safety of the preserved nukes as well as ones under elimination as a **national priority.** Then the carrying out of this task of national importance will be promoted by corresponding state, legal, financial, organizational and technological support, including development and adoption of the single safety criteria for all the CIS countries. All technologies and procedures involved will be coordinated and improved to meet the safety criteria. This primarily concerns storage and transportation of nuclear charges, reclamation of fissionable materials, production of new types of nuclear weapons, and modernization of old ones. It will also pertain to national and international systems for spotting and reacting to breakdowns.

Conversion of the military industry into peaceful production is a current and widely discussed topic. Reduction of nuclear arsenals and increasing their safety is going to become one of the main directions of that conversion for the next 10-15 years. Perhaps it would be wise to engage Russia's nuclear experts with the problem rather than to find new jobs for them.

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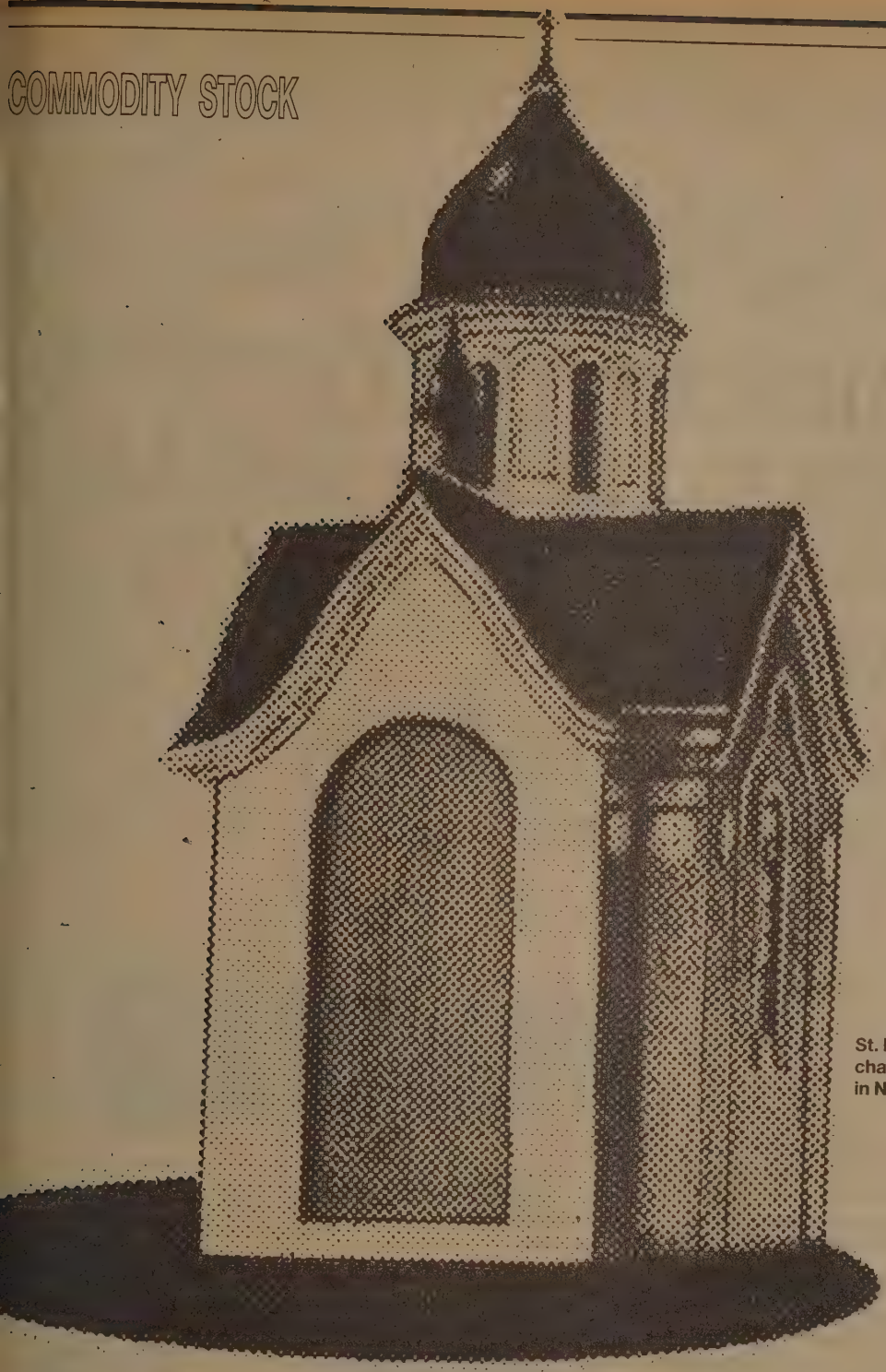

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SECRET SERVICES

# The Popular Labour Alliance survived because the KGB needed it

The interview with a former member of the NTS leadership, Boris Miller, published in *NT* issue 39/91 generated a wide discussion among the weekly's readership: did the NTS engage in terrorist activities against Soviet Russia, did it collaborate with Nazi Germany, and did it serve Western intelligence services?

Boris Miller answers the questions of our readers once again.

**– Few of our readers doubt that the NTS is a terrorist organization whose armed agents penetrated into the USSR territory. It's another matter that nowadays this is approved rather than condemned. What is your opinion?**

– The Popoular Labour Alliance has never been a terrorist organization, although émigré organizations tried to conduct military struggle on Soviet territory in the '20s and '30s. NTS members also took part in some actions, but the Alliance soon rejected it. Such practices were indulged in by the Brotherhood of the Russian Truth. It's true that the NTS leadership approved of the assassination of Kirov in 1934, regarding it as an act of protest against Communists and being unaware of the fact that it had been accomplished by Stalin. Its members penetrated into the USSR territory not for the purpose of subversion but in order to understand what was happening in the country and to create strongholds for underground activities there.

**– Who organized their landing in Soviet Russia?**

– We were granted this possibility by the chief of the Russian Department of the Polish General Staff, Ryczard Wraga.

**– What did the Poles demand in exchange?**

– Naturally, they were interested in any activity directed against the Moscow Communist government. However, we didn't supply them with military intelligence, only with political.

**The Fifth Directorate artificially prolonged the life of the émigré organization Moscow hated most, because the "subversive activity" of the Popular Labour Alliance (commonly known as the NTS), in fact to a large degree justified the very existence of the KGB**

**– The Soviet Union has always been famous for its excellent frontier guard. Did your people really manage to find holes?**

– Several of our groups perished when crossing the border, some others were arrested when already in the country, but some managed to outwit the KGB, visit the country and return safely.

**– The gravest point of accusation against the NTS is that your comrades-in-arms collaborated with Hitler's invaders, i.e. betrayed their people during the years of the Great Patriotic War. How do you respond?**

– The NTS wanted to be the third force – it sided with neither Germans nor Bolsheviks. Its German branch was dissolved in 1938 to avoid collaboration with the Nazis. We penetrated into the Germany-

**Boris Miller** was born in emigration. He was 15 when WWII ended. He graduated from school, living in a camp for Russian refugees in Austria. In 1948, he left for Chile where he worked at a Philips plant and helped local syndicates struggle against Communists. In 1959, after being offered a job in the NTS headquarters, he returned to Europe. His first assignment was at Radio Free Russia – first broadcasts were carried out from a lorry-mounted transmitter, later a stationary transmitter was obtained. The station remained unregistered. In 1972, FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt who had signed an agreement with Moscow closed it. The history of the NTS was told by Boris Miller in detail in *NT* (No. 39/91).

ccupied territories in order to gather rength for the liberation movement and to ase the life of the Russian people. The TS leaders were arrested by Germans beause the Alliance was the Russian people's ational organization, and our ideas could ot be liked by them. All those exposed by ermans were jailed. Overtly anti-German ogans appeared after the Kursk Battle, for nstance, such as "When we finish up with itler, Stalin's turn will come!" The Gesapo shot or tortured to death over 30 NTS embers.

**– Isn't it true that the NTS took the ost active part in the creation of Genral Vlasov's Russian Liberation Army?**

– In 1941, Germans started organizing eneral Steifon's guard corps; the NTS rohibited its members from joining, but it eally tried to create a Russian national rmy and an independent government.

**– Under the Germans?**

– There were many people from the Balcs among German officers who, for the ost part, had a Russian cultural ackground. They believed it was necessary o create a Russian government. It was prisely the NTS people who found General lasov in a POW camp and who talked him nto assuming the leadership of the army. here were many NTS members among his tinue.

**– Which means that the NTS collaboated with General Vlasov's army and he Germans.**

– Vlasov was not a traitor. He always opposed his army fighting on the Eastern ront.

**– Our readers have long been discussing this problem on the pages of our eekly – was it permissible for a Russian patriot, for all his hatred of Stalin nd Communists, to fight on Hitler's ide. The majority answer in the negave. It wasn't a war of ideologies – it was matter of defending their motherland gainst foreign invaders.**

– I am aware that this is a delicate queson. I have once discussed it with remarkale Russian writer Victor Nekrasov. He admitted that he hadn't so far found a solution o the problem of his personal attitude toards the Russian Liberation Army and eneral Vlasov himself. I can also refer to olzhenitsin who does not regard Vlasoites as traitors.

**– Did the NTS continue its "subversive ctivity" after the war?**

– The leader of the Alliance, Vladimir oremsky, developed the so-called molecular" theory – the tactics of operating through small, unconnected and secetly acting groups. As a matter of fact, ending people to the USSR in those days ncant dooming them to death. I am not sure that the NTS leadership had the moral right to do so...

**– After the war, the NTS started its own newspapers, magazines and a radio station. Where did the money come from?**

– From various sources. Our radio station existed on the donations of Americans who sympathized with our cause. Later we started a publishing business which turned out to be profitable enough. We published all contemporary Russian literature suppressed by Soviet censorship.

**– It's hard to believe that the NTS was not subsidized by Western intelligence services.**

– We never took money directly from any secret service. Apparently, the Americans subsidized us via dummies, through funds of a sort. We never accepted money on conditions.

**– How many NTS members were in the USSR after the war?**

– Nine people crossed the border before the war and remained there. About a hundred people joined the Alliance in the occupied territories during wartime. We tried to win new people to our side. For instance, I lived in Greece under an assumed name and made acquaintances with Soviet sailors, tourists and those who worked abroad. I had lengthy conversations with those who showed interest, gave them literature. I never recommended them to remain in the West, always tried to persuade them to return home, but continue to cooperate with us.

**– Was it possible that Soviet people, scared by everything in the world agreed to contact, even to cooperate with you?**

– I had two such occasions during a year and a half in Greece.

**– What did it mean to join the NTS in those days – was one issued a party identity card, did one pay membership dues?**

– We had a solemn procedure. The applicant made a vow, signed a form, and then a candle was kindled and the form burned in its flame.

**– But there must have existed the NTS membership files?**

– They were in our headquarters in a well-disguised place. We spent a lot on concealment.

**– Don't you think that the person who sat near the strong-box with the files was a KGB agent?**

– No. KGB agents did penetrate the Alliance, but not into the closed sector which dealt with contacts in Russia. Its staff numbered about 30 people, and I can vouch for everyone of them.

**– What is your confidence based on? Now that the Soviet external intelligence archives start to be open to the public, it becomes clear that emigrants were the Number One target. No effort or money was spared to infiltrate the émigré organizations. They were literally stuffed with Soviet agents.**

– I was known in the NTS and in the émigré milieu from my childhood, and yet I was screened for a long time before I was offered a job in the closed sector. A person of dubious repute, or unknown to the NTS leaders, would never have been admitted into the holy of holies. And the most convincing argument: our people acted inside the USSR and came back on the completion of their mission!

# Defectors and traitors

A two-volume reference book, "Foreign Hostile Propagandist Centres," published in a small number of copies and marked "classified," is kept in the weekly's library. Volume II carries an article on the Popular Labour Alliance (with headquarters in Frankfurt am Main, FRG).

"The NTS is an anti-Soviet organization uniting mainly those who fled the Soviet Union soon after the October revolution, as well as traitors who defected to the enemy during WWII. Financed and actively supported by American secret services. Their subsidies afford it to run a radio station and a publishing house printing books, booklets, newspapers and leaflets. The NTS smuggles its products onto the territory of the USSR and other socialist countries, sends them to Soviet missions abroad and tries to distribute them among Soviet tourists. The members of this organization conduct subversive propaganda among the personnel of Soviet foreign missions, tourists and sailors."

**– What were the functions of the closed sector?**

– Primarily sending our people to the USSR.

**– How was this accomplished?**

– Americans parachuted them.

**– Which meant that your people were to work for both sides?**

– We had a formal agreement with the Americans. They simply assumed the technical side of the operation, no more than that. However, from the moment our people stayed with Americans for paratraining, we had no longer control over them.

**– For how long did you send your agents that way?**

– This took place during the first half of the 1950s. Many were caught, betrayed by such people as Filby or Blake.

**– How long did you work in the closed sector?**

– From 1959 till 1972. It was a strange life. I am quite social, but I had to shun my friends. None of my neighbours knew I was Russian. I was not allowed to talk Russian in the street.

**– What was your main occupation in the closed sector?**

– I looked for people – British and Russian emigrants of the second generation willing to cooperate with the NTS – to visit the USSR.

**– What for?**

– In order to deliver our literature and letters, to meet the people ready to cooperate and to bring back the materials prepared for us.

**– What sort of materials?**

– Mostly literary. We began publishing the best literature we could find in the *Samizdat* (the Russian underground press). It was rather difficult to get manuscripts across the border. The people put their freedom on the line. We trained them in London to avoid meeting KGB men, but they were not professional agents, though sometimes they worked miracles.

**– What did a rank-and-file NTS member do in the USSR?**

– They distributed our literature and leaflets, collected materials to be published in the West and created new groups.

**– The NTS was often blamed for collecting intelligence in the USSR at the request of Western secret services.**

– We were interested only in economic and political information which we tried to publish as soon as possible. We made no secret reports.

**– How many NTS members were there, say, in Moscow, before *perestroika?* Under ten?**

– Dozens.

**– And now?**

– About one thousand people abroad, and as concerns Russia, I just don't know. Not all have dared to disclose themselves yet. I only know that in Russia we, unfortunately, have no big names.

**– Can the NTS become an independent political force in Russia now?**

– I think, we've missed the moment. We ought to have joined Russian political life as early as before the presidential elections. However, in those days we proceeded from the principle that we couldn't endorse a candidate to the Supreme Soviet, because Soviets were communist bodies of power. I disagreed with this position and tried to persuade our leaders to return to Russia in order to create a large political party here.

**– You were not listened to?**

– Nobody has returned so far.

**– Probably, the Alliance has already fulfilled its historical mission?**

– We struggled successfully against the totalitarian regime, but have failed to find a place under democratic conditions. Yet I do believe that our ideology could be useful in today's Russia – we advocate a strong state, but we always seek mutual understanding and concerted activity. I was upset by the February Congress of Patriotic Forces. The presence of Dmitry Vasiliev and his *Pamyat* there struck me as something monstrous. Extremists were applauded, while moderates were met with cries "Go to Israel!" Well, we could be useful in Russia, but the NTS is now no more than a number of small groups. Alas, we have got stuck in the past.

## "If we hadn't so bitterly fought against the NTS, it would have disintegrated long ago"

The NTS was the concern of a special department of the Fifth Directorate of the KGB. How serious an adversary was the NTS considered by the State Security? The questions of our correspondent are answered by a former Fifth Directorate staffer who refused to disclose his identity.

– Many of our people used to be rather outspoken in the Directorate's lobbies – if the KGB hadn't reinforced the NTS with its agents, the Alliance would have collapsed a long time ago. Before an agent was planted, it was necessary to properly prepare him by creating him as a known dissident, allowing him to make an action so that he could acquire a reputation abroad... Besides, the agent was to supply them with some valuable information or interesting ideas – all that was the fruit of our creative work. So we "fed" the NTS with personnel and, so to speak, intellectually. The same applies to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Nearly every other of its leaders was our agent.

**– But Boris Miller is absolutely positive that there were no KGB agents in the closed sector of the NTS.**

– He even can't imagine how complex were the ways of planting agents in Russian emigration. They were introduced as early as before WWII, and contacts with them were renewed many years later when they had already been perfectly integrated into the émigré milieu and when there could be no doubts as to their reliability.

**– Why then did the KGB spend so much effort and money on an organization which was not dangerous at all?**

– By planting agents in the NTS or in the OUN, the KGB actually served its own interests – the corresponding departments simply provided work for themselves. And the staff of the Fifth Directorate was expanded for the sole reason that the implanted agents made the NTS a more significant organization, which, consequently, required intensification of struggle against it. To tell the truth, if in those years when the KGB had absolute power, it had fallen on the NTS, the latter would have been through within a year. However, the KGB was interested in keeping it half alive – it wasn't harmful, and it helped pump up the KGB personnel.

*Leonid Mlechin, Tatiana Chernova*

A chronicle of struggle

## The KGB against the NTS:

**1947:** a NTS member Yu. Tregubov kidnapped in Berlin.

**1951:** an attempt to kidnap G. Okolovich, one of the NTS leaders, exposed.

**1954, January:** a KGB captain, N. Khokhlov, ordered to kill Okolovich, prefers to surrender to the German police.

**1954, April:** a member of NTS Council, A. Trushnovich, kidnapped in Berlin.

**1954, June:** NTS staffer V. Tremmel kidnapped in Austria.

**1955:** NTS member S. Popov kidnapped.

**1955, December:** an agent of the GDR Stasi sent to kill the NTS leader V. Poremsky, surrenders to the West German police.

**1958:** a house near Frankfurt am Main exploded where the radio station was located and where the families of NTS staffers lived.

**1961:** an explosion in the courtyard of the Posev Publishing House.

**1963:** a series of explosions near Radio Free Russia.

# "Polish tour" of a Brest gang

## Having become a huge "Russian bazaar" (where it's not the Russians who rule the roost), Poland sends alarming signals

The far from peaceful criminal activities committed by our fellow countrymen are not only increasing but taking on more and more threatening characteristics. Not long ago the kind of crimes committed included petty theft, swindling, gambling and prostitution. Now it becomes downright threatening. Either some Caucasians are caught red-handed attempting to take arms – from pistols to the Israeli UZI machine guns – across the border (to Azerbaijan or Karabakh – it hasn't been cleared up as yet). Or at the deserted approaches to the border posts from Terespol to Brest they threaten their own countrymen returning from successful trade deals at the huge Warsaw market with old but entirely lethal TTs and rob them. Or they drive a couple of stolen Mercedes or Volvos across the border. There's no finding them after that: it's like a black hole...

A month and a half ago I talked to the newly appointed head of the Warsaw police, Wiktor Mikusinski. The young elegant commissioner, a man with a pleasant appearance and manners attesting to the fact he was a university graduate, managed to calm me. "Having open borders is of course something new for us," he said. "But there's nothing unusual in the fact that among the dozens, hundreds and thousands of tourists, traders, friends and relatives there are a dozen or so criminals. That is to be expected. But we should anticipate what they might try: not be caught off guard each time, but forestall them."

The head investigators of the capital were of the same opinion: nothing extraordinary in connection with the mass influx of citizens of the former USSR into Poland has occurred. There have been a few separate episodes. But on the whole the situation is under control...

But the incident in the Polish capital recently made many doubt that.

Poland is a country of cars. Every second or third family has a car. But it's not a matter of the number of cars, but the social etiquette connected with cars: the relationship between those who are behind the wheel and the "better part of mankind" – pedestrians – is quite different from here. At the intersections they stop and politely wave their hand indicating for the pedestrian to cross. To go cross the crosswalk when anyone's foot is in is a mortal sin. As for stealing any parts off cars – windshield wipers, mirrors, glass, wheels and the

– Rubles, rubles! Who wants rubles?
*Photo from the Polish magazine Spotkanie*

like – it seems to me this petty stuff has long been forgotten. However, let me remind you again that Poland is far from being a rich country. Of course there is a flourishing business in stolen Lancias, Jaguars and Mercedeses. But I've never heard of swiping the windshield wipers or even the wheels.

However, late one evening a boy went out on the balcony and noticed three guys bent over a car parked below. Were they repairing it? It didn't look like it: they took off a wheel and rolled it away, then a second one. The boy called the police. They only managed to catch one of thieves, the rest got away.

Next to the car the police found a loaded sawn-off 1944 rifle and two extra cartridge clips for it. In other words, as the jurists say, there were all the marks of armed robbery. But that's not the main thing. The man arrested turned out to be Vasil Korovaichik, a chauffeur from Brest. Caught red-handed he immediately confessed that he had come to Warsaw in the morning as a member of a tour group. After resisting a bit, he lead the police to a hideout. In a dirty apartment they found a group of serious "tourists" from Belarus: twelve men and two women. The search revealed fire arms, cartridges and gas pistols. The "tourists" had packed well.

The procurator, Ewa Dymowska, who tried the case, said that none of them confessed to taking part in the robbery or possessing weapons. They had come as tourists, that is to trade. In order not to waste money on a hotel they had stayed in a private apartment recommended by some passerby. They had never seen the owner of the apartment before.

The facts and common sense suggest that this is an armed gang who came here on one of their "tours." But they weren't caught, so they are not thieves. As a result only Vasil Korovaichik is awaiting his fate in jail. The visas of the other fourteen were made void and they were told to leave Poland... But whether they went back where they came from or went undercover now, no one knows – not the police, the procurator or the border guards. Who knows how many such illegal guests are scattered now over the vast territory from the Baltics to the Tatra Mountains? There are no existing controls on either side of the border, no coordinated actions, no contacts between neighbouring law-enforcement agencies.

Then, a month and a half ago, Commissioner Mikusinski expressed an opinion which, I understand now, was quite right. He said that the ties between law-enforcement agencies of our countries used to be direct and systematic. Now, for understandable reasons, all contacts have been broken off. But such circumstances may arise that we won't be able to cope without mutual consultations, the exchange of information, and sometimes joint action.

It seems that time has already come.

*Rudolf Borecki,*
*New Times* correspondent

WARSAW

# Rehabilitating the past

*Kronid Lyubarsky*

On October 18, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation (then known as the RSFSR) passed the Law on the Rehabilitation of the Victims of Political Repressions. On November 5, the Law was published in the *Rossiyskaya gazeta* and, consequently, went into force in its main part and, on December 1, in full, including the articles on the payment of compensation to the rehabilitated. The other day, the Council of Ministers worked out the procedure of paying compensations and granting other benefits.

I shall not dwell here on sluggishness and ineffectiveness of the Law – in this respect it differs but little from the other Russian laws. Neither shall I hold forth about the vagueness of its wordings – there are no few flaws in the Law, and in this respect, it is no exception, either. The edifice of Russian legal system is becoming more and more of a makeshift hut intended for use only until the onset of the winter cold, and is an easy prey to fire.

I am much more concerned about the very spirit of the Law under discussion, about its "philosophy".

**The law has proclaimed the Soviet system of government totalitarian but not offered protection to its victims. What's the use of such a law then?**

## Has the KGB really existed?

To begin with, here is a quotation:

"Art. 18: The officers of the VChK, GPU–OGPU, UNKVD–NKVD, MGB, public prosecutors, judges, members of the commissions like 'special conferences,' 'twosomes,' 'threesomes,' the personnel of other bodies which discharged judicial functions, judges who took part in investigating and hearing political repression cases, incur criminal liability under the criminal legislation now in force."

Don't you get the impression that something is missing here? Of course it is: the long list of sinister abbreviations does not include the KGB! Legislators are prepared to square accounts with the remote past (and the VChK has long been a thing of the past) but have not ventured to name the organization which is very much alive and "breathing down their neck." This organization has been renamed recently, it is true, but kept its structure and its personnel intact. The People's Deputies do not feel like quarrelling with the immortal organization. In legislation, however, any word – or its absence – entails serious consequences.

They have also skipped the MVD which has not yet receded into the past. As a result, all the workers of punitive bodies who are presumably alive and not senile have been relieved of criminal liability.

Even under our far from perfect "criminal legislation now in force," many workers of the "forgotten" agencies – the KGB, above all – could be put on trial under the following articles of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (to name but very few): "Frame-up" (Art. 176), "Illegal arrest or detention" (Art. 178), "Interrogation under duress" (Art. 179), "Abuse of power or office" (Art. 171), "Violation of the privacy of correspondence, telephone conversations and telegraph messages" (Art. 135), "Violation of sanctity of the home" (Art. 136). I have mentioned here only the articles which, both in substance and form, have directly to do with the Law under discussion because they are concerned with the preparations for, and the perpetration of, political repressions.

Our Law leaves no room for the "criminal liability" of the KGB officers. This organization needn't answer for all the things it has done to us over the past forty years or so. Our legislators are prepared to bring to trial the "VChK beasts," "Yezhov and Beria executioners" – but not those who are around now, who appear on TV screens now and then, and are serving the new powers-that-be as zealously as they served the powers-that-were.

I think that the legislators have shown too much consideration for the KGB. Those referred to by the Law as "criminally liable" include judges. So what? Is anyone really going to apply the Law to them?

Far be it from me to demand punishment for all of them – many of the judges, even those guilty of frame-ups, were victims of the regime themselves. But what about a character like, for instance, Vladimir Bogdanov, a member of the Moscow City Court, who accounts for the following (known to me, at any rate) victims of political repressions: Natalya Gorbanevskaya,

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**Kronid Lyubarsky,** a former political prisoner, has done five years in the Mordovian hard labour camps and in the Vladimir prison. He is the compiler of the lists of political prisoners and publisher of the bulletin *News from the USSR*. Emigrated from the USSR in 1977 under the threat of a new arrest. Lives in Munich. Editor of the *Country and the World* magazine.

Those responsible for condemning millions to penal servitude turned out to be unpunished

Olga Ioffe, Mikhail Makarenko (1970), Anatoly Krasnov-Levitin, Nadezhda Yemelkina, Dmitry Mikheyev (1971), Ilya Glezer, Pyotr Starchik, Vladimir Popov (1972), Mark Nashpits, Boris Tsitlyonok (1975), Andrei Tverdokhlebov (1976)? Where is this "bright student" now? Where are his Petersburg colleagues who also specialized in political cases: the judges Nina Isakova and Oleg Karlov? I could fill this issue of the magazine with questions like this.

## The "threesomes" rehabilitated

Let us now see how the "post-putsch" Law on Rehabilitation treats the notorious "threesomes" and other non-judicial bodies, which rubber-stamped death and hard-labour sentences. On the one hand, the Law pronounces them "criminally liable", as we have seen. But on the other hand...

Art. 4: **"Not to be rehabilitated are persons** found guilty by court with good reason, **as well as those punished by the decisions of non-judicial bodies** on sufficient evidence that the accused were indeed guilty of the following crimes..."

Let me cut the quotation short. The list of crimes that follows makes no difference! What does is the fact that the "non-judicial" bodies have been placed on an equal footing with courts. The Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation actually claims that non-judicial persecutions are not always all that bad. It approves, and subscribes to, certain actions by the "threesomes".

Who is to decide whether the "threesomes" had "sufficient evidence" or not? Who, in principle, has the right to do this – apart from the court of law? The only legal approach to the matter would be to quash all the verdicts passed by the "non-judicial bodies" on the only grounds of them being non-judicial. Because by the logic of Russian legislators, even lynching may be justified in certain cases – if the lynchers had "sufficient evidence," of course.

I understand the frame of mind – if not the logic – of Russian legislators: after all, those whom the "threesomes" dealt with included real spies, terrorists and war criminals. Those were not to be acquitted, of course, and I must rule out accusations of advocating traitors and murderers.

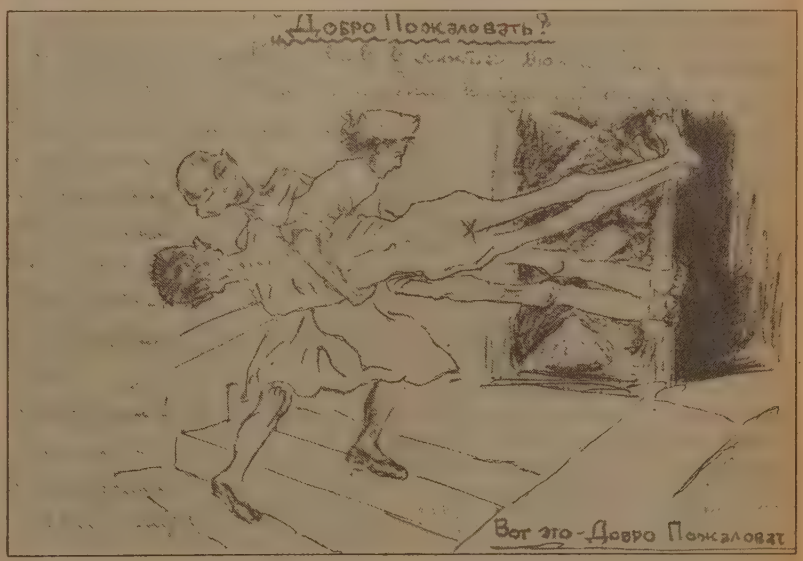
Our legislators remember, I am sure, the good old rule that it is better to acquit 20 defendants who are guilty than to condemn one defendant who is not. There is, however, another and more important thing I'd like to bring up here. Supposing a war criminal really involved in murders of civilians faced a "threesome" of Cheka men, was promptly condemned by them and sentenced to death. What we have in this case is a clash between two crimes – **a crime committed by an individual and a crime committed by the state.** Which will outweigh which? The democratic "post-putsch" legislation preferred – quite in the traditions of our wretched country – the state.

Under the circumstance, the practical "gain" for the sake of which the law has been disgraced is pitiful: the victims of the "threesomes," who, God forbid, may be rehabilitated by mistake are long dead and buried, with only a few survivors, perhaps. And if it is so necessary to punish them again, this is up to the public prosecutor's office: if it finds in old cases the grounds for taking legal action on crimes still coming within the term of limitations, let it institute legal proceedings against the guilty parties in accordance with the established procedure and take them to court.

As to the rehabilitation, even though indirect, of the "threesomes" and "special conferences," it will rebound upon us yet. After all, the law does not only resolve collisions. It has also an educational influence.

## Is the murder of a tyrant a crime?

And now let us go back to the interrupted quotation of Art.4 of the Law on Rehabilitation and see what crimes the legislators regard as not subject to rehabilitation. A long list of them includes war crimes which are indisputably punishable.




Gulag as seen by Yefrosinia Kersnovskaya who spent 10 years there

Some of the items on the list are worth pondering over: "Acts of terrorism, subversive actions, the forming of gangs, participation in murders, robberies and other violent actions committed by these gangs."

All right, I know that all of us have been raised to oppose violence in every way. The principle of non-violence has been the basic principle of the human rights movement, and I am of the same brood. But do we have the right to impose this principle on others?

The preamble to the Law under discussion proclaims the state which existed in the years of Soviet power "totalitarian" and declares that it established a "reign of terror which lasted for years". This is nothing new in itself. The fact that this has been proclaimed by the Law is unprecedented, however.

And now let me ask you: isn't open struggle against a totalitarian state, an open resistance to terror, morally right?

I recall the short story by the Czech writer Jan Drda entitled *The Supreme Principle*. It is about a school teacher nicknamed by his pupils "Supreme Principle" for his predilection for moral maxims. Th story is set in the German "protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia" which had once been Czechia. Word came that two brave Czech patriots had made a successful attempt on the life of "Protector" Reinhard Heydrich. The collaborationist school master expected the teacher to present this incident to his pupils in the "proper light". The old man mustered up his courage and exclaimed: "Children, you must know that from the viewpoint of the supreme principle of morality the murder of a tyrant is not a crime!"

No one ascended to the platform of the Russian Supreme Soviet and uttered those words. Had our parliament decided the posthumous fate of Graf von Stauffenberg, would it have denied him rehabilitation? We had no Stauffenberg of our own, but had anyone ventured to, and succeeded in planting a bomb in Stalin's office, he would not have been rehabilitated in accordance with Paragraph A, Article 4, of the Law in question. At street meetings we readily put "brown" and "red" brands of fascism on the same plane, but when it comes to drawing practical conclusions from that, it turns out that "our" totalitarianism was not totalitarian enough and had to be fought against only by means of leaflets and open letters (preferably within the framework of the campaign "to return to real Leninism").

The Law goes into no details and draws no distinctions: an "act of terrorism" is an "act of terrorism," and a "gang" is a "gang," and that's that. But let us bear it in mind that the Law is supposed to rehabilitate all those who have fallen victims to political repressions **since the year 1917.**

In accordance with the Law (if it is a law rather than an empty declaration) no rehabilitation will ever be extended to the participants of the Tambov uprising drowned in blood by Tukhachevsky, to the Izhevsk uprising and other peasant and worker revolts against Bolsheviks; to the sailors of Kronshtadt who perished in Arkhangelsk concentration camps after the mutiny; to White Guards officers who fought against the Red Army and who were later arrested and exterminated for that; to the Cossacks who went up in arms on the Don; to the Baltic "forest brothers" and, of course, to the "Bandera men" who had the secret support of the people and held out till the early fifties; to the participants of the popular resistance movement in the Caucasus, Chechnya above all; to the rebellious concentration camp prisoners who took refuge in the taiga and the memory of whom has been preserved for us by Shalamov and Solzhenitsyn; to the heroes of Kengir and Vorkuta... Forget all about them. All of them committed unpardonable "acts of violence".

I presume, though, that many on the above-mentioned list will be rehabilitated nevertheless by way of exception in the spirit of the already customary disrespect for law which is known to be like a piecrust made to be broken, and which gives no legal route only to those in pursuit of good causes.

How could it happen? Our legislators (and not only they alone) swear that they have broken with the totalitarian state, but actually feel flesh of its flesh. The umbilical cord has not been cut yet.

In a normal democratic state nothing can justify violence as a means towards political ends. By their failure to admit that this is not true of a totalitarian state our legislators betray their profound kinship with it. They take any threat to such a state as a threat to themselves.

In the meantime, an entirely different principle has long been proclaimed. I have had occasion to quote the US Declaration of Independence recently, and I cannot help repeating this amazing quotation here:

"When a number of insults and usurpations, invariably directed to one and the same purpose, reveals the government's design to subdue the nation to absolute despotism, it is the right and the duty of the nation to overthrow such a government".

Why weren't the "founding fathers" scared to commit these awesome words to paper? They did so because they knew that their state would never become a state of absolute despotism.

Our own "founding fathers" lack such confidence.

## No need for rehabilitation

It does not follow from the above, however, that I insist on all the "gangs" and all the terrorists, so long as they were "anti-Soviet," being rehabilitated. Such a rehabilitation is simply impossible.

The bloody events of the Civil War, the

**Memory thrown out with the garbage**

years of terror and political surveillance and of the Patriotic War wove good and evil into a knot too tight for any legislation to unravel. The recent developments in Lithuania connected with the rehabilitation of the "forest brothers" are a graphic illustration of that. This rehabilitation brought forgiveness to those, among others, who had been directly involved in the genocide of the Jews in Lithuania. Vehement protests by world public opinion compelled the government of Lithuania to annual rehabilitation as regards a number of persons.

What happened in Lithuania could well have happened in our country, except that our "internal affairs" would hardly have caused such an international wave of protests. The White Guards officers who waged a just struggle against the usurpation of power often acted as ruthlessly as Red commanders did. The fighters for "the liberation of the peoples of Russia" stooped to supporting another and as inhumane totalitarian regime. Those who read A.Pristavkin's book remember what brutalities had been committed by both sides during the popular resistance movement in Chechen...

No one can formulate the principle whereby to separate the sheep from the goats is possible, the "good guys" from the "bad guys," "friends" from "foes" in recent Russian history.

The problems that would face anyone trying to make a "fair" law on rehabilitation would not be confined to the problem of violence. Here is another example.

*Photo from Stern (Germany)*

The question of the KGB "informers" is now under broad discussion. Those who have gone through the political investigations of the sixties and the eighties know that this is by no means a problem of the thirties alone. Most people are of the opinion that the informers' names should be consigned to oblivion lest civil tension should be fomented in the country. The argument of "such were the times" is given by way of justifying them. Irrespective of whether this stand is correct or not, it has a certain logic behind it. Besides the moral aspect, the question has a legal side to it: a large number of the "informers" are thus rehabilitated apriori, i.e., relieved from criminal liability, at least on charges on having given "deliberately false information" (Art. 80 of the Criminal Code; term of limitations – 10 years).

What is to be done, then, about the numerous agents of the tsarist security service? In the twenties, many of them were tried and condemned for their pre-revolutionary activity (the more notorious among them being Okladsky, the informer against the *Narodnaya Volya* – People's Will), and the relevant article (58–13) remained in the Criminal Code until the end of 1960. Doesn't the logic used with regard to our modern "informers" apply to tsarist agents?

What's more, extra arguments can be found in favour of the rehabilitation of the tsarist agents: they tried, as best they could, to prevent the takeover of power by the revolutionaries who subsequently plunged the nation into a monstrous catastrophe. They should, perhaps, be rewarded posthumously for their services to the cause of national salvation, all the more so that modern Russia has now readily proclaimed to be the successor to pre-revolutionary Russia. Why is this category of persons absent from the new Law on rehabilitation?

I realize the absolute immorality of this position – but its logic is irrefutable!

An honest maker of the Law on rehabilitation would have come up against problems like that at his every step.

What was to be done then? If the knot of good and evil could not be unravelled, it had to be cut.

I think that a fair law on rehabilitation is an impossibility in principle. What's more, it is **unnecessary and even pernicious.**

History knows many examples of rehabilitation of concrete persons in concrete cases. But no one has ever attempted before our country and its neighbours in the "ruble zone" an undertaking as ambitious as the rehabilitation of all and sundry since the very inception of the state. We have embarked on "our own road" in this, too.

Can you imagine legislators starting, after the collapse of Nazism in Germany, working out a law on the rehabilitation of the prisoners of the Dachau, Buchenwald and Sachsenhausen concentration camps? The judges who had passed monstrous sentences in accordance with the Reich's monstrous laws, were put on trial in the FRG, but it didn't occur to anyone to commit the blasphemy of "rehabilitating" their victims. Their innocence was simply obvious to all. France didn't rehabilitate the political victimes of Vichy justice, either, but collaborationists did stand trials there.

Even the Bolsheviks have been more logical and honest, after all. They proclaimed their aim to be "the destruction of the old world," and it didn't occur to them to rehabilitate Vladimir Ulyanov, for instance, once accused of being involved with the League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class.

Both German democrats and Bolshevik anti-democrats deeply felt their break with the past which they regarded as disgraceful (whether justly so or not hardly makes any difference in this context). We are still a far cry from them in this respect.

What was the big idea of adopting the Law on rehabilitation? To provide moral justification for the victims? Personally, I do not regard the five years I have spent in prisons and hard labour camps as something to be ashamed of, and need no forgiveness from any quarters. I think this attitude is shared by many of my GULAG mates.

The adoption of the Law has hardly come from the desire to make amends to the victims for their sufferings.

To begin with, the compensations they get are pitiful and do not make up for the damage they have sustained; what's more, their real worth is shrinking from month to month like Balzac's wild ass's skin. Well, the country is short of funds, and most former political prisoners realize that, I am sure.

Second, the Law is amazingly unfair even in this narrowly practical matter. Why, for example, are compensations paid only to those "repressed in the form of confinement to prison" but not to the former mental hospital inmates and to exiles?

Third, under the specific conditions of our wretched country there is something morally wrong about receiving dividents on past sufferings. When prosperous Germany, a land of social justice, pays compensations to all the prisoners of its former concentration camps, it is one thing. Our case is something else again. Does Academician Likhachev, for example, who now receives a "compensation" for his sojourn in Solovki, derive moral satisfaction from the fact that a peasant who has gone through "kulak dispossession", exile, famine and who is now living out his days on a collective farm pension, will receive no compensation at all, although his life "at large" has been much more of an ordeal than that of Solovki prisoners? Even if he had served a prison term, he will not receive any compensation anyway because he has been jailed not on political charges but for breaking the "wheat-ear law".

Have all these Babel towers of injustices been piled up in the Law only for the purpose of allowing former political prisoners (provided they were pensioners or are invalids) a free use of the metro and buses?

Many victims of repressions, particularly those who are poor and well advanced in years, do need material support. They could best be attended to by a public organization like Yekaterina Peshkova's Political Red Cross or the Political Convicts' and Exiles' Society (within the framework of *Memorial* perhaps). The state could hand over to it the money it is prepared to spend under the Law on Rehabilitation. Not being bound by the need to combine charity with political considerations and with attempts at legal formalization, such an organization could function in a more humane way than our as yet not too humane state does.

* * *

The Law on Rehabilitation for the victims of political repressions adopted by Russia's Supreme Soviet – like many other new Russian laws, economic ones above all – has shown, once again, that the basic nature of our state has not changed yet.

For as long as the totalitarian past is not put paid to once and for all, we shall have no law-governed state – just socialist legality with a human face.

# "Universal responsiveness"

## It must remain free and pure, not infected with chauvinism, thinks a man who preferred Moscow to Venice

*Vittorio Strada*

The Soviet empire and the communist regime left Russia a horrible legacy in the most important areas: economic, political, social, cultural, national and religious. But their fall made it possible for the people of Russia and other parts of the former USSR to get out of the unbearable state of stagnation, to wake up from a hypnotic sleep.

Emancipation from the totalitarian rule and return to reality aren't easy, first of all, because Russia has been an imperial power for centuries. It's not just a matter of overcoming its state of socio-political decay and economic backwardness, but acquiring its own new national face. There was some national essense at the base of the spiritual development of Russia. After October 1917 it was lost and replaced by communist ideology.

Today Russia is not only normalizing its economic and political life, but also cleansing its culture in search of its own face. The first condition for this is the rebirth of the Russian historical past and Russian cultural traditions after 70 years of censorship, falsification and ideological limitations. This process of emancipation has been going on in Russia for two decades already. When it was impossible at home, Russians continued to do so abroad...

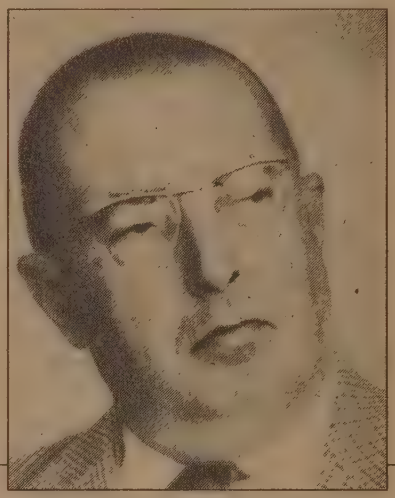
I always considered the long period of communist rule a time when Russia lost its national character and historical legacy and at the same time experienced de-Europeanization – it had cut off its fruitful contacts with the West. Russia can again become Russia only having again become part of Europe. That means two slow and time-consuming processes which have already begun. It is important not only that these processes have begun and that Russia is drawing closer to Europe, but that the West meets it halfway.

In the past Russia got much from Europe and gave it much. Russia shared its great culture with the West. Without Russian culture there wouldn't be the contemporary European culture. The West and Russia need each other: if there is no unity on our continent, the world won't be balanced. Speaking about European unity, I don't have in mind leveling of its national components. On the contrary, they must preserve their individuality and traditions.

If Russia can renew its cultural traditions, then it well be making an invaluable contribution to the unification of the world. After all, universalism has always been an outstanding feature of Russian culture. It's only necessary that this universalism, this, in the words of Dostoyevsky, "universal responsiveness," remain free and pure, not infected with chauvinism which distorts the true essense of Russian culture.

I always thought of Russia as of my second home. I wasn't indifferent to its fate, and that is why I protested its degradation like Pasternak and Solzhenitsyn. For me, just as for many Russians, this opposition was a process of genuine insight beginning with the "thaw" in the 1960s, which grew into the dissident era and led two decades ago to the full rejection of the Soviet historical experiment.

In the worst years when I was refused an entry visa into the USSR, I never identified the communist regime with the Russian people. I waited for the day when the chains fell and tried to make that day come sooner through my modest work as a historian and literary critic. That day came earlier than I had expected. And last year when our Minister of Foreign Affairs asked me to head the Institute of Italian Culture in Moscow, I understood right away that I couldn't refuse, though I would have to leave my teaching job in my beloved Venice. I'm happy to start my new job and hope to find new friends in Russia and the chance to contribute to our two cultures.



The name of Vittorio Strada was on the KGB's blacklist for a long time. For decades one of the biggest experts on Russia in the world was refused the right to visit the country whose language, history and literature he knew and loved. But now he has been made the head of the Institute of Italian Culture in Moscow.

Vittorio Strada, a professor at Universita degli studi di Venezia and director of the Russian Institute, was born in 1929 in Milan and got his higher education there specializing in philosophy. Starting from 1957 he studied for four years at Moscow University. Strada is the author of many fundamental works on the history of Russian literature. The most well known are *Tradition and Revolution in Russian Literature* and *The USSR and Russia. Myths and People in Russian Literature from Dostoyevsky to Pasternak*. The seven-volume *History of Russian Literature* which is being published in Italy and France was his idea and he did much of the work on it.

Vittorio Strada acquainted many Western readers with the works of Yu. Lotman and M. Bakhtin, with the prose of A. Platonov and M. Bulgakov, and first translated many verses of B. Pasternak and N. Zabolotsky into Italian.

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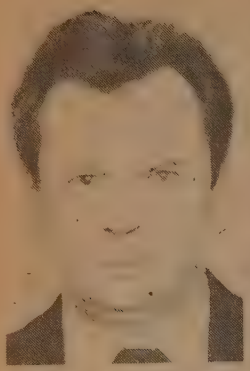


"The prosperity of Russia depends on a sound nationalities policy to no less extent than on the success of economic reforms," says **Valery Tishkov,** 50, chairman of the State Committee for Inter-Ethnic Relations and a long-time contributor to *New Times*.

It is said that several candidates had been put up for this office. However, President Yeltsin chose Tishkov, an eminent Americanologist and Director of the Academy of Sciences' Institute of Ethnography and Ethno-Anthropology.

"I do not know who recommended me to the President, because until recently I was not acquainted with any of his close aids," the new minister admits. "My articles on the problems of inter-ethnic relations evidently played their part."

Convinced that "an active nationalities policy involves high expenditure," Tishkov regards financial pressure as the main obstacle to the efficient functioning of his Committee. The budget envisages expenditure for only the maintenance of the Committee's staff. Sometimes there is simply not enough money for enforcing the laws passed by the parliament.

It is for this reason that the Committee is unable to set up, as Tishkov wants, an analytical service that would warn of inter-ethnic conflicts. In his opinion such a body could also act as a mediator — "horizontally," between ethnic groups, and "vertically", between these groups and the centre.

Tishkov is rather optimistic in his forecasts. He believes that, in spite of everything, the Chechen and Tatar republics will remain part of Russia by acquiring through negotiations "a status freer than that enjoyed by other republics."

* * *

**Luciano Benetton,** 56, can be reckoned as a "shark" in the capitalist market. His company manufactures woolen clothes known in many countries.

Some 25 years ago his elder sister Giuliana took up hand knitting and soon prospered in her business. Her method was studied at special faculties of large universities. No wonder her junior brother Luciano decided to exploit the success and organized a company for the manufacture of woolen goods.

The success of the company also depended to a large extent on the supermodern computer technology which Luciano introduced into production. The Benetton company is often called the McDonalds of the fashion industry. Its shops have opened even in faraway America and, several years ago, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Like a Roman emperor, Luciano has divided his business domain into areas and exercises control over each of them.

The energetic Italian dreams of organizing subsidiaries in India and China. He would like to establish business relations with Russia too. However, Benetton is afraid of dealing with "the intricate Soviet bureacratic system". "In Russia," he says, "the minister of light industry can turn out to be a mechanical engineer, and I fear this most of all."

Working 12 hours a day, practically without days off, Luciano nevertheless does not look his age, and a cheerful smile never disappears from his tanned face.

* * *

During a little more than a year Tallinn doctor **Zoya Gabovich** and her colleagues have received several patent priorities on methods of diagnosing functional changes in the human organism, the selection of homoeopathic preparations and the correct dosage, the curing of allergic reactions, and so on.

Having worked in the reanimation and "artificial kidney" wards for over 20 years, Zoya considers that she has found her real vocation only now. It is alternative or, what she prefers to call, "sparing" medicine. Over a year ago she organized electric acupuncture diagnostics in one of the Tallinn hospitals.

In front of the doctor stands a rather simple device — a small metal plate, a scale with a pointer, and two taps. A patient grips one tap with his fingers while the doctor touches certain points on

## How bankers are made

The name of **Georgy Matyukhin,** Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia, has been mentioned repeatedly in the press over the last year. It was written that, having concentrated in his own hands unlimited power over the banking sphere, he arbitrarily decided whether to grant a licence for foreign economic activity to one or another commercial bank. Some economists questioned his competence. However, the chief banker of Russia was able to retain his post. It is alleged he could do that largely thanks to the protection of Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chairman of the Russian parliament.

The newspaper *Moskovsky Komsomolets* published an article which throws light on some little known facts from the life of the chairman of the bank. For several years Matyukhin served in the KGB and rose to the rank of captain there. However, his career ended during his first trip abroad, to Uruguay. "Matyukhin did not display proper initiative, did not establish confidential ties, did not find anyone who has access to sources of information," the testimonial says. Matyukhin was sent back before the end of his business trip. He was very much upset and wanted to go abroad again, because, as he said, only frequent trips abroad could "fruitfully contribute to his activity". As a result, Matyukhin was recognized as a man "of weak abilities" and transferred to the reserve.

The dream of Georgy Matyukhin has now come true. He spends probably more time abroad than at home and determines for himself where to go and for how long.

the other hand with the second tap.

"Ancient Chinese medicine established in the human body 12 biological meridians with constant biocurrents," the doctor explains. "Every organ is 'represented' on its meridian by appropriate points on the body. For instance, I touch the point which 'represents' the thyroid gland, and the device indicates its condition — whether it is normal or pathological, and if pathological then to what degree."

Zoya Gabovich contends that the device does not only show a doctor how the organism of a patient functions, whether his immune system is in order, and how his liver and kidney behave. It also enables a doctor to select appropriate drugs fit only for a given patient.

The doctor puts a grain on the plate, and the pointer instantly reacts, showing whether the organism "agrees" to accept the proposed drug or not, and what dose is needed.

The method of Zoya Gabovich is based on the principle of diagnostics offered by Voll (a Munich doctor who devised it more than 30 years ago). However, she has her own "secret". Zoya puts on the plate a large black tablet resembling activated carbon — a Kiev sorbent. It is known that a sorbent is not a drug. It absorbs drosses and toxins and thus purifies the entrails like a cleaner. With its help a doctor can establish whether the organism has too much dross or an organic injury.

During a little more than a year Zoya Gabovich examined about 1,000 patients (some came from Belorus and Ukraine, the Chernobyl zone). She admits that only in 12 cases she was unable to make a clear diagnosis. Zoya is convinced that every clinic and hospital must have such devices and that the route of a patient to various doctors must begin with electric acupuncture diagnostics, because "if the diagnosis is bad, it's bad, and if it is good, it does not yet mean anything."

* * *

When someone begins to talk about the "carrier" of Monsignor **Jean-Louis Tauran** he feels hurt. "I don't like this word," he says. "We are not making a career here. We are serving our Lord." Nevertheless, Monsignor Tauran has quickly ascended the scale of ranks. In December 1990, at the age of 48, he became the youngest Secretary in the State Secretariat of the Holy See. Tauran is in charge of the Vatican's relations with other countries. In a secular state it is the post of the minister for foreign affairs.

Jean-Louis Tauran was born into a bourgeois family in Bordeaux. He received the diploma of a specialist in canon law and studied philosophy and theology. In 1975 he joined the Vatican's diplomatic service, working first in Latin America and then in Lebanon, during the fighting there. However, Tauran considers himself a priest rather than a diplomat.

The monsignor likes to read books on history and is a good pianist. His friends say that he is entirely different from the French: Tauran works much and talks little.

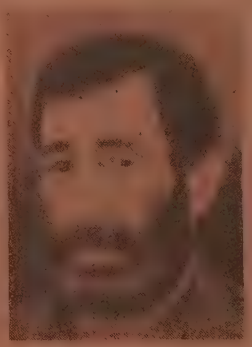
Last August Tauran went on a peace mission to Yugoslavia, where he spent several days, meeting with Croatian Catholic bishops and Serbian Orthodox priests amid bomb explosions.

In September, a month after the August coup attempt, he paid a visit to Moscow, where he met with Gorbachev and Yeltsin.

This year the monsignor is faced with the difficult task of establishing relations with all members of the Commonwealth of Independent States. Besides, Pope John-Paul II is planning to pay an official visit to Moscow this year. How successful this visit will be depends much on Monsignor Tauran's diplomatic abilities.

* * *

## The man who creates calm



**Pavel Zamikhovsky,** an artist-ceramist, calls his articles vases. Under the influence of the familiar word, you first agree with him. But the longer you look at these articles, the more absurd this definition seems, and you involuntarily call to mind the word "architecture", which is first taken as a slip of the tongue.

Pavel's works need a special environment, a free undimmed interior created by white walls and soft colours. You recall Japanese tea houses with their special ritual — unhurried movements and few words. Having drunk a cup of tea whipped by a tough bamboo besom, sages admire a coarse ceramic cup for a long time, examining its intricate relief and pale colour blots on its side. The place for Zamikhovsky's vases-sculptures is in these houses of paper and bamboo.

Pavel was born in a family of medical workers, and he was expected to make a career in the medical field. In 1968 he entered a leading medical college. However, having studied for about two years, he left this institution of higher learning. He spent several years looking for his vocation and work. In the mid-1970s Pavel took an interest in figurative art. From time to time he restored icons, trying to understand the secrets of this complex technique of painting and earning his living. A sharp turn, which determined his further life, took place only in 1979.

His articles create calm. Zamikhovsky leads a secluded life. He practically does not communicate with other ceramists and seldom visits exhibitions and museums. At present Pavel exists on the narrow boundary between applied art and sculpture. One cannot predict what he will produce tomorrow, entirely new abstract or, on the contrary, realistic forms.

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst ***Rostislav Zolotaryov***

As he studied the history of religious tolerance in the United States, the famous German sociologist Max Weber remarked: "After the warring Christian sects had realized, at long last, that the only way any of them could prove its case was to eliminate all the others, then it finally occurred to them to accept peaceful coexistence."

It was not only a matter of balance of forces. None of the teachings could be consistent enough in asserting "its truth" by fire and sword, because it was simply unable to reconcile the militancy of faith with another value common to all – the Christian maxim about love, and not only love for "thy neighbour," either. Successive "crusades" contradicted, in principle, the essence of the teachings which the "holy wars" were supposed to prove the truth of.

We know from our life experience that even a steady pursuance of the apparently fair egalitarian policy leads to universal poverty, arbitrary rule and tyranny, to intellectual shabbiness. Any "ultimate solution" to an ethnic problem ends, at best, in the degradation of a culture or, at worst, in genocide.

Upon making this discovery, the Polish philosopher Leszek Kolakowski wrote a small essay, entitled "In praise of inconsistency," at the turn of the seventies.

This is not Kolakowski's debut in our magazine – a couple of years ago, we carried his essay on anti-Semitism (No. 46/90). Born in Radom, known to non-philosophers as a sewing machine manufacturing centre, Kolakowski preferred a typewriter. The scientist took up studies in the spheres of logic, religion and culture, and gradually waxed critical of his country's regime. His criticisms were philosophical and kind, because the author always wished people well, and wanted to help them get rid of their delusions. The grateful regime reciprocated with what turned out to be a blessing in disguise – in 1968 it banished Kolakowski out of the country to where he found himself much freer to engage in his philosophical pursuits. Already well known outside Poland by then, Kolakowski presently published a great many books which made him world famous not only as a wizard, but as a brilliant wit as well.

# In praise of inconsistency

*Leszek Kolakowski*

When I speak of inconsistency, I mean a discrepancy between thinking and behaviour, or between moral principles and actions. For instance, I call a person consistent if he always makes a point of acting up to his general non-contradictory basic principles in anything he does, and of following these principles in all his programmes of action.

There existed a species of great men – rather rare in the history of culture – who stuck to extreme right socio-political views. Their works furnish invaluable material for reflections over the principle of consistency. In France, these men included Bossuet, de Maistre and Mourras. Distinguished by their great intellectual courage, they were not afraid of carrying their thought to logical conclusion and boldly judged any problem from the standpoint of their principles. Joseph de Maistre claimed he had the most precise idea of the Universe as God had created it; he also knew what the greatest values in this world were, and what had to be put up with. He displayed amazing consistency in applying his general rules to all specific problems. Evil is inevitable in this world; since evil exists, it should be punished; this being so, someone has to be the instrument of punishment; this someone is an indispensable factor of public order and therefore also merits respect. De Maistre even lavished praise on the executioner: "All grandeur, all might and all the maintenance of law and order depend on the executioner: he puts the fear of God into us, but he also keeps society together as a single whole. Take this inscrutable factor away from us – and order will immediately give way to chaos: thrones will sway, and society will perish. God created power as well as punishment.' Consequently, the executioner, whose craft is so awesome, "is an extraordinary creature, and his appearance in the human family requires special circumstances and the will of the creative force. The executioner was created together with the world"...

One can only admire this amazing example of consistency, of keeping faith with one's principles. On the one hand, we must admit that mankind owes its continued existence on earth to inconsistency...

By the species of the unstable and the gentle, the race of the inconsistent, I mean those who polish off their chops at dinner with gusto but who cannot kill a hen; those who neither wish to break state laws, nor cooperate with the secret police; who go to war but, in a hopeless situation, would rather surrender to the enemy than die in the last ditch; who value truthfulness but cannot bring themselves to tell an artist they know that he has produced a daub – on the contrary, they praise his work in a faltering voice; in a word, the race of inconsistent people remains one of mankind's biggest hopes for survival. Because it is the same species, some of whom believe in God and in the supremacy

of eternal salvation over earthly blessings, but do not insist hat heretics be burned at the stake again. Others of the pecies do not believe in God and admit the need for re-olutionary changes in society, but decline to take action vhich clearly contradict a certain moral tradition these people have been raised to respect.

In other words, strict consistency tantamounts to practi-al fanaticism, and inconsistency is a source of tolerance. Does a man convinced of the absolute truth of his convic-ions have the moral right to put up with other convictions of his own free will?

A ready reply to this seems to be that any tolerance is orced, that one can tolerate only what cannot be eliminated or want of means, and that those who are tolerated owe his, as a rule, to their strength which prevents the enemy rom making short work of hem. This observation is based on vast historical ex-perience. Nevertheless, it ap-parently does not explain ev-rything. For if the source of olerance had laid in the ba-ance of strength alone, with he antagonists remaining anatically consistent, they would have been permanently exterminating each other to he last. The fact that this is not the case or, at any rate, that his is not always the case is a blessed result of inconsis-ency...

> Inconsistency is a secret awareness of the world's contradictions and of the impossibility of making ultimate decisions

Inconsistency is merely a *secret awareness of the world's contradictions*. Speaking of contradictions, I mean the fol-owing: in the course of history there constantly occur situa-ions where different values are brought into public life by orces antagonistic to them. Confidence in an absolute and exclusive superiority of any value, with all the other values being subordinate to it – such a confidence, had it been videspread and used as the guide to action, would have urned the human world into an enormous massacre – vhich, occasionally, does happen from time to time. The absence of consistency prevents this from happening. In-consistency as a form of an individual human position is nerely a reserve of uncertainty preserved by our minds. It s the constant fear of *making a mistake*. Or of the enemy being right, after all. We keep talking about the correlation between thinking and principles of practical action. How-ver, any thinking which manifests itself, in any form, as a guide to action is a confirmation of values. For its part – and here we come to the formulation of a prerequisite crucial to us – *the world of values is not a logically double valued* as opposed to the world of theoretical thought. In other words, here are values which mutually exclude one another while not ceasing to be values. At the same time, there are no ruths which exclude one another but remain truths nevertheless. This is the veritable truth. Its banal obvious-ness is confirmed by everyday reality at our every step. In-consistency, in the sense we use the word here, is just a re-usal to make a final choice between any two mutually exc-usive values. A clear realization of this permanent and in-veterate antinomy of the world of values is deliberate incon-sistency, because ordinarily, inconsistency is rather prac-ised than proclaimed. Inconsistency is *an attempt to keep deceiving life*, because life is continuously trying to put us in alternative positions before two doors, each being only an entrance and none permitting retreat. Having committed ourselves to one of these positions, we are compelled to fight to the bitter end against those in the other position. Therefore we try to manoeuvre, to dodge, to use all sorts of tricks, to resort to dubious ruses, to make reservations, to shirk, to tell half-truths, to cast innuendoes, to be cautious – and all this in order to avoid getting pushed into one of the doors leading in just one direction. This cheating of life, these attempts to reconcile inveterate antagonists and to avoid making a definite choice between contradictory val-ues – all this is not a result of temporary disorder in human life, which will disappear with the advent of a new era; this comes from the very nature of human reality, the an-tinomies of which always ac-company us. We can avoid these antinomies by means of inconsistency. We can accept them as part of universal human fate so as to prevent the final negation of what ap-pears valuable to us only be-cause there is something else, also valuable but contradict-ing the former and permanently antagonistic to it. There-fore we try to delay the final choice until death catches us unawares – and this is the only situation where one no longer has to decide between the alternatives...

Inconsistency presupposes that the values being an-tipodal do not ensue from their overuse and, consequently, is not imaginary. Besides, this contrast is by no means sur-mountable by healthy temperance. It is immanent in the world of values and cannot enter into any harmonizing synthesis. Reasonable inconsistency does not attempt a synthesis of the opposites because such a synthesis is impos-sible: the opposite values are mutually exclusive. The real-ity of values is inconsistent in itself, i.e., it consists of an-tagonistic elements a simultaneous full recognition of which is impossible, while each element calls for our full recogni-tion. This is not a logical contradiction, because values are not a theoretical thesis. This is a contradiction in the world of human actions. Thus, inconsistency is an attempt to create a certain worldview. The latter admits that extremes are irreconcilable, but does not want to renounce them be-cause it recognizes the values of either extreme...

Let us take a very simple example from ordinary political experience. We admit the fact that all nations have the right to be their own masters. This statement contains the assertion of a certain value. At the same time, we admit that certain vital social institutions persisting in the life of our people re-tard its progress. At the same time, it is obvious to us that people set great store by these very institutions and are not going to hear out our explanations. For instance, not only are we deprived of the blessing of religious consolations, but pro-foundly convinced that a continued influence of religious in-stitutions on public life is pernicious. Nevertheless, this influ-ence shows in public life, and what is more, does so with the doubtless consent of the people. How should we behave? We are not willing to denounce any of the two principles an-tagonistic in this particular case: we neither demand

an abolition of these institutions by force, which most people obviously want to be preserved, nor give up the effort to abolish these institutions. Some may say that this situation is banal and by no means rules out synthesis. Such a synthesis is feasible in the long run: we expect the people to attain, sooner or later, a standard of enlightenment high enough to eliminate the existing contradiction. In the meantime we must try, while remaining absolutely consistent, to enlighten the people so as to prepare it for the acceptance of our principles and to have it abolish, of its own free will, the institutions which, in our opinion, retard progress.

Alas, this Solomonic compromise cannot dispel our doubts. There is nothing, of course, to prevent us from hoping that in the distant future, many generations later, the contradiction in question will cease to exist owing to a revolution in the people's mentality. This hope, however, is of negligible value for practical action today. Supposing I take part in a vote, in my own country, on the issue of including the study of religion in public school programmes or, on the contrary, of separating the church from the public school. I have no other choice: I have to vote either in keeping with what I regard as the will of the people, or in accordance with my idea of what is good for it. I have to vote because the need to do it has been imposed on me by a situation which is beyond my control. I cannot remain consistent as regards both principles simultaneously, but I don't want to renounce either of them. This example is not as far-fetched as it seems: a lot of members of various parliaments vote for proposals which, they hope in secret, will be voted down by their opponents.

The inner antinomy of the principle of tolerance is eternal and eternally insoluble: how is tolerance to be proclaimed and practised as regards the views and movements of the intolerant? We violate the principle of tolerance if we suppress these views and these movements by force. We violate the principle of tolerance if we put up with them, because we thus give them a chance to take control over the situation and to eliminate the principle of tolerance in the practice of public life. Under the circumstances it is cold comfort that this contradiction may resolve itself in the long run: either we exterminate all the enemies of tolerance and shall be able to use it to an unlimited extent, or after the intolerant give up their intolerance with time. In our everyday public life such prospects are of negligible value for practical action.

All this is not a freak of the imagination. In our everyday life, we are in a vice of the most contradictory and multiple loyalties which we have to decide between in concrete situations. We often have to depart from one loyalty in favour of another, without calling the former into question. Loyalty to people, to one's own principles, to casual collectives and to those of our own choice, to nations, parties, regimes, friends, to our own nature and our own convictions, to the present and the future, to concrete ideas and common causes – there are as many loyalties as there are contradictions. Chronic conflicts rarely lend themselves to a real synthesis. More often than not, these are only imaginary and deceptive solutions which we delude ourselves with so as to make believe that we are consistent, because consistency is one of those values which have been inculcated in us since childhood. We must realize the fact that practical consistences is, under the circumstances, an ideological fiction...

The question arises: shall we succeed in putting forward the principle of inconsistency in its ultimate form, i.e., precisely in a consistent fashion? Does there exist, in human life, a sphere of phenomena, with regard to which we shall demand full consistency, thus entering into flagrant contradiction with our own renunciation of this very consistency? We must answer this question in the affirmative. A sphere of such phenomena does exist. We call these phenomena elementary situations, i.e., situations where no tactics can be used; our moral attitude to such situations remains unchanged, irrespective of the circumstances under which the situations arise. When a man is starving to death, and you can give him something to eat, there can be no contingency in which it would be correct to say: "From the tactical point of view, it is more rational to let him die." Or, if I cannot help him, to say: "From the tactical point of view, I'd better keep mum about his starving to death." Other elementary situations are obvious armed aggressions, genocide, torture, humiliation of those who cannot stand up for themselves... In elementary situations, the values of inconsistency cease to play any role. Suddenly we come up against the double-valued world.

> He who is genuinely lavish is never a spendthrift; on the contrary, he is always thrifty; the brave are rather wary than daring

Consequently, our praise of inconsistency is inconsistent in itself. The value of inconsistency has certain limits within which reality is contradictory. However, it is contradictory only to a certain extent (I am talking about the reality of values, not about reality as an object of theoretical thinking). Consider this: to be consistent in inconsistency means to break faith (by the practice of certain consistency) with something the assertion of which (i.e., the assertion of inconsistency) constitutes the content of this practice, i.e., to find oneself in an impossible situation, to fall into antinomy. So let us be inconsistent in our inconsistency. In other words, let us apply the principle of inconsistency to inconsistency itself.

Some may object that this would amount to inconsistency in its extreme form, to full consistency in the practice of inconsistency. For if we were always inconsistent, but our very inconsistency were perfectly inconsistent, we would not always be inconsistent that way. But if we restrict inconsistency, i.e., if we are not always inconsistent, then we become absolutely inconsistent.

And now we arrive at the classical antinomy: it is only inconsistent inconsistency that is precisely consistent inconsistency... We bring our praise of inconsistency to perfection – through protest against practising inconsistency in its pure form.

This brings us to the end of our praise of inconsistency. There is nothing more to say. Now it is time to act.

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